

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 4/24/68

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY, FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 5, 1968."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished to SA WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\* during the period March 16 to 30, 1968.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, and thus adversely affect the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

During the course of this meeting, CG 5824-S\* advised, he sat directly behind MIKHAIL A. SUSLOV and BORIS N. PONOMAREV, Secretaries of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), among the Soviet and Bulgarian technical staff. This position was chosen for CG 5824-S\* in order that he might take advantage of alcoves built into each wall of the meeting room so as to be out of the view of fixed cameras set up for television.

Enclosed herewith is one copy each for the Bureau and New York of a photograph which was taken at the opening session (the only session at which photographs were taken)

- 100-428091-904-0  
2-Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 2) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)



93 MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 134-46 Sub B

and which appeared in the February 28, 1968, issue of "Neues Deutschland," organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG). Appearing in this photograph, between SUSLOV and PONOMAREV, is ELIZABETH HALL, wife of GUS HALL, and the figure obscured behind ELIZABETH HALL is CG 5824-S\*.

Because of his position in the room, CG 5824-S\* could not observe the speakers on the podium and this was done deliberately so that the speakers could not see him either. Therefore, in some cases the speaker is merely identified in this letterhead memorandum as a representative of a given Party rather than by name. CG 5824-S\* stated that in most cases the speeches were delivered by the head of each Party's delegation, although when it came to debates on motions, sometimes other members of delegations delivered the remarks on behalf of their respective Parties.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

APR 24 1968

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CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY,  
FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 5, 1968

During March, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During the period February 26 to March 5, 1968, there was held in Budapest, Hungary, the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. This meeting was convened for the purpose of beginning preparations for an international meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties. The meeting was held in Room 16, Mezzanine of the Gellert Hotel.

Among the participants at this meeting were the following delegates:

Communist Party of Algeria

Larbi Bouhali, First Secretary

Communist Party of Argentina

44-111-111  
Fernando Nadra, member of Central Committee (CC)  
Alcira de la Pena, member of Political Committee  
(PC) and Secretary of CC  
Atos Fava, member of PC

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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~~Group 1~~

100 426091-6904  
~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
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*member*  
Communist Party of Australia

Claude Jones, Vice President  
Bernard Taft, member of PC

*member*  
Communist Party of Austria

Erwin Scharf, member of Political Bureau (PB) and  
Secretary of CC  
Otto Wolf, member of CC

*member*  
Communist Party of Belgium

Jean Terive, member of PB  
Joseph Turf, member of PB

*member*  
Communist Party of Bolivia

Arturo Alvarez, member of PC

*member*  
Brazilian Communist Party

Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary  
Manuel Moreira, member of PB  
Armando Ziller, member of CC

*BBH all*

*member*  
Bulgarian Communist Party

Boris Velchev, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC  
Milko Balev, member of CC  
Constantin Tellalov, alternate member of CC

*Bulg*

*member*  
Communist Party of Canada

William Kashtan, General Secretary  
Nelson Clarke, Secretary of CC  
Samuel J. Walsh, member of Executive Committee,  
Communist Party of Canada, and Chairman of  
CC of Communist Party of Quebec

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*member*  
Communist Party of Ceylon

Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary  
S. A. Wickremasinghe, President  
C. Kumarasamy, member of PB

*member*  
Communist Party of Chile

Oscar Astudillo, Deputy General Secretary  
Jorge Montes, member of PB  
Rodrigo Rojas, "co-worker" of CC

*member*  
Communist Party of Colombia

Alvaro Vasquez, member of PB and Secretary  
of CC  
Manuel Cepeda, member of PB  
Hector Herrera, member of CC

*member*  
People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

Arnoldo Ferreto Segura, member of PC and Secretary  
of CC  
Humberto Vargas Carbonell, member of PB and Secretary  
of CC

*member*  
Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus

Ezekias Papaioannou, General Secretary

*member*  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Vladimir Koucky, Secretary of CC  
Frantisek Kriegel, member of CC  
Oldrich Kaderka, alternate member of CC

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*Czech* *Czechoslovak Communist*  
Mihail Pecho, Secretary of CC of Communist Party  
of Slovakia

The delegation from the Communist Party of Czecho-  
slovakia was assisted by a number of individuals  
acting as a technical staff which included Frantisek  
Havlicek, Head of the Ideological Department of the  
CC; and, Frantisek Kopta, a representative of the  
International Department of the CC. *Czech*

*Denmark*  
Communist Party of Denmark

Ib Norlund, member of PC and Secretary of CC

*Dominican*  
Dominican Communist Party

Alfredo Sanchez, Secretary of CC

*Hungary*  
At the present time in the Dominican Republic, there  
are said to be six different Communist Parties. Of  
these, the Dominican Communist Party represented in  
Budapest was said to be composed of the "old-time  
communists."

*Ecuador*  
Communist Party of Ecuador

Elias Munoz, member of PC and Secretary of CC  
Milton Tijon, member of PC and Deputy Secretary  
of CC

*El Salvador*  
Communist Party of El Salvador

Antonio Pineda, Secretary of Executive Committee  
Carlos Rivera, member of CC

*Finland*  
Communist Party of Finland

Anna Liisa Hyvonen, member of PB  
Olavi Poikolainen, member of Secretariat of CC

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*member*  
French Communist Party

Georges Marchais, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC  
Raymond Guyot, member of PB  
Jean Kanapa, member of CC

} FRANCE

*member*  
Communist Party of Germany (Federal Republic of Germany)

Max Schafer, member of PB  
Jup Angenfort, member of PB

*member*  
Socialist Unity Party of Germany (German Democratic Republic)

Erich Honecker, member of PB and Secretary of CC  
Hermann Matern, member of PB  
Hermann Axen, alternate member of PB and Secretary  
of CC  
Paul Markowski, member of CC

*member*  
Communist Party of Great Britain

Jack Woddis, member of Executive Committee and  
member of PC  
Betty Matthews, member of Executive Committee

} ENG

*member*  
Communist Party of Greece

Kostas Koliannis, General Secretary  
Grigoris Farakos, member of PB  
Vasilis Venekopulos, member of CC

*member*  
Communist Party of Guadeloupe

Guy Jean Daninthe, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC  
Gerty Archimede, member of PB

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Guatemalan Party of Labor

Julio Lopez, member of CC  
Rafael Rosales, member of CC  
Jose Manuel Fortuny, leading member

Party of the People's Unity of Haiti

Antoine Levantin  
Acquilon

Communist Party of Honduras

Carlos Aldona, member of PB and Secretary of CC  
Manuel Artigas, member of CC

Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

Zoltan Komocsin, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC  
Frigyes Puja, member of CC  
Andras Gyenes, Deputy Head of International Depart-  
ment of CC

The United Socialist Party of Iceland (observer only)

Einar Olgeirsson, President

Communist Party of India

Shripad Amrit Dange, President  
N. K. Krishnan, member of Central Secretariat and  
National Council  
Srinewas Ganesh Sardesai, member of Central Secre-  
tariat and National Council

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People's Party of Iran

~~Iradsz Eskandari~~, member of PC  
~~Ehsan Tabari~~, member of CC  
~~Ardaches Avanesian~~, member of CC

Iraqi Communist Party

~~Djalil Djandal~~, member of PC  
~~Rashad Amdjad~~, member of PC

} IRAQ

Irish Workers' Party

~~Sean Nolan~~, President  
~~Geoffrey Palmer~~, member of PC

} IRE

Communist Party of Northern Ireland

~~Andrew Barr~~, President  
~~Hugh Moore~~, General Secretary

Communist Party of Israel

~~David Khenin~~, member of PB and Secretary of CC  
~~Saliba Khamis~~, member of PB

Italian Communist Party

~~Enrico Berlinguer~~, member of PB and member of  
Executive Committee  
~~Carlo Galluzzi~~, member of PB and member of Executive  
Committee  
~~Michelle Rossi~~, member of Foreign Relations Department

Communist Party of Jordan

~~Eouad Nassar~~, General Secretary  
~~Ishaq Khatib~~, member of CC

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*member*  
Lebanese Communist Party

Nicolas Chaoui, General Secretary  
Karim Mroue, member of PB and Secretary of CC  
Georges Batal, member of CC

} LEE

*member*  
Communist Party of Luxembourg

Jean Kill, member of PC  
Rene Urbany, member of CC

*member*  
Martinique Communist Party

Georges E. Mauvois, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC

*member*  
Mexican Communist Party

Manuel Terrazas, member of Presidium and Secretary  
of CC  
Alejo Mendez Garcia, member of Presidium

*member*  
Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

Demchigin Molomzhantz, member of PB and Secretary  
of CC  
Badamin Lhamsuren, alternate member of PB and  
Secretary of CC  
Puncagin Sagdarsuren, member of CC

} MONGOLIA

*member*  
Moroccan Communist Party

Abdallah Layachi, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC  
Omar El Fassi, member of PB

} MOR.

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
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Communist Party of Nepal

Manandsra, member of CC

Socialist Party of Nicaragua

Pablo Rivas, First Secretary of Executive Committee

Communist Party of Norway (observers only)

Rolf Nettum, member of PB and Secretary of CC

Arne Pettersen, member of PB and Secretary of CC

People's Party of Panama

Ruben Dario Souza, General Secretary

Luther Thomas, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC

Moises Carrasquilla, member of CC

Communist Party of Paraguay

Hugo Campos, member of PB

Gustavo Colman, member of CC

Peruvian Communist Party

Anrique Riquelme, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC

Gustavo Espinoza, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC

Polish United Workers' Party

Zenon Kliszko, member of PB and Secretary of CC

Artur Starewicz, Secretary of CC

Jozef Czesek, member of CC

Andrzej Werblan, member of CC

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Portuguese Communist Party

Manuel da Silva, Secretary of CC  
Alessandre Castanheira, member of CC  
Jose Vitoriano, member of CC

Reunion Communist Party

Paul Verges, General Secretary  
Jean Baptiste Ponama, member of PB

Romanian Communist Party

Paul Niculescu-Mizil, member of Executive Committee  
of CC and member of Permanent Presidium and Secretary of CC  
Mihai Dalea, Secretary of CC

Communist Party of San Marino

Agostino Giacomini, member of leadership of CC  
Gastone Pasolini, member of CC

South African Communist Party

Moses Kotane, General Secretary  
Hormus (or Hermis) (?)  
Dudo (or Dado) (?)

The last-named two delegates were two white delegates who may well have chosen pseudonyms to conceal their identities.

Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Mikhail A. Suslov, member of PB and Secretary of CC  
Boris N. Donomarev, Secretary of CC  
K. V. Rusakov, member of Central Auditing Commission  
Ye. I. Kuzkov, Deputy Head of International Department of CC  
Vitaly G. Korianov, member of International Commission of "Pravda"

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Communist Party of Spain

Santiago Alvarez, member of Executive Committee  
Juan Diz, member of PB  
Ramon Mendezona, member of PB

Communist Party of Sudan

Abdel Khalig Mahgub, General Secretary  
Muawiga Ibrahim  
Tigani Al Tajeb Babiker, member of CC

Swiss Party of Labor

Edgar Woog, General Secretary  
Henri Trub, member of PB

Syrian Communist Party

Khaled Bagdash, General Secretary  
Youssef Feissal, member of PB

Tunisian Communist Party

Mohamed Harmel, member of PB and Secretary of CC

Communist Party of Turkey

Jakub Demir, First Secretary  
Marat, member of PB

Communist Party, USA

Gus Hall, General Secretary  
Daniel Rubin, Organizational Secretary  
James Jackson, Chairman, International Affairs  
Department

The Communist Party, USA delegation was accompanied  
by Elizabeth Hall, wife of Gus Hall, who sat behind  
the delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union.

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Communist Party of Uruguay

Alberto Suarez, member of PB and Secretary of CC  
Jose Luis Massera, member of PB and Secretary of  
CC  
Cesar Reyes Daglio, member of PB

Communist Party of Venezuela

Eduardo Gallegos Mancera, member of PB and Secretary of CC  
Jaime Jimenez  
Jeronimon Carrera, representative of Communist Party of Venezuela to World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague, Czechoslovakia. (A characterization of the World Federation of Trade Unions is attached hereto.)  
A young man who is a leader of the young Communist Party of Venezuela guerrillas who was recently released after three years in prison

There were said to be delegations at this meeting from twenty-one illegal Communist Parties. Therefore, the names indicated for delegates from any Party which has some illegality about it cannot be depended upon. Also, a prevalent opinion among the delegates to the meeting was that the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) has a hand in a number of these smaller Parties. The delegates from the Dominican Communist Party, the Communist Party of Reunion, and the Party of the People's Unity of Haiti were looked upon as agents of CIA, as was one delegate from the Guatemalan Party of Labor.

Set forth below is a chronological account of the proceedings of the Budapest Consultative Meeting:

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February 26, 1968 - Opening Session  
Chairman - Zoltan Komocsin, Hungarian  
Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP)

The first speaker was Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP, who stated in essence as follows:

First of all, I wish to express my thanks to all of the fraternal Parties for accepting the invitation and coming here. It is a great honor for our Party to prepare this meeting and for the choice of Budapest as the meeting place. We wholeheartedly welcome you and wish you the best of success.

In November, 1967, we were given this responsibility. We know that both friend and foe are looking to this meeting because the communist movement is the most powerful force in the world of mankind, to see if this Budapest meeting will produce something new or a step forward in the fight against imperialism.

U.S. imperialism, in particular, is lawless--it violates the laws of humanity; it precipitates wars; it invoked the war in Vietnam, and is carrying on a massacre and is guilty of the crime of genocide against women and children. Now it is trying to do the same thing in Korea. In the Arab countries it is doing the same. But the people fight back heroically. Imperialists cannot suppress the people.

We must do our utmost to unite the forces of progress to fight against imperialism. We must unite the vanguard. Imperialism is an international force that knows no boundaries. The workers' movement, too, by its origin, is internationalist and we must unite to fight these aggressors and to curb imperialism.

The unity of all progressives is the order of the days ahead. Communists have the task to unite the people and to rally all progressives to unity. It is both necessary and possible. There are CPs in all countries and many are fighting for their elementary rights. Some are legal, some

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are illegal. Some are in power, some are fighting for power. But every fraternal Party in its own land fights for the creative implementation of Marxism-Leninism. The workers of the world and each Communist and Workers' Party are affected by the work of all other Parties.

No country is the center of the universe. We must judge the world in coordination with others. Our lack of unity gives imperialism vast opportunities. Recently, there have been differences in the world communist movement. But I am not proposing one center and let it be said that the independence of each CP is not threatened by this meeting. We all share the same ideology of Marxism-Leninism, the same principle of internationalism, and the same enemy. So, we can study the world situation and come to some conclusions. These conclusions are not placing obligations on fraternal Parties.

No one Party can evaluate the world situation and say that others must adopt its point of view. But a mutual exchange of opinions will help us to evaluate the world situation and help us to achieve unity. We must constantly bear in mind that all progressives throughout the world expect our Parties to unite.

This ended Kadar's welcome and introduction. Chairman Komocsin then announced that the HSWP had sent copies of two documents to all delegations. These documents were entitled, "Report on the Preparations for the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest by the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party," and "Proposal of the Delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the Agenda and Working Order of the Consultative Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest." Komocsin asked if there were any questions concerning these documents or any remarks concerning them. No one responded. Komocsin then stated that the report of the HSWP on their preparations for the conference was then accepted.

Regarding the document number two, the proposed agenda for the meeting, Komocsin suggested a discussion of it point by point. He asked for remarks on point one ("The Consultative Meeting should have one point on the agenda:

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'The convening and preparation of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties'") and point two ("The sessions of the Consultative Meeting should be chaired by the heads of the fraternal Parties' delegations in the order of the Hungarian alphabet with a change in chairman after every session").

Niculescu-Mizil of the Communist Party of Romania (CPR) remarked on point one as follows. He objected to the formulation of point one concerning the convening of the International Conference. He stated that this could be misinterpreted as a point which is already solved. However, that is the very point which the conference should discuss. He suggested that the formulation should read to the effect that an exchange of views take place in Budapest on the organization of such a conference. He noted that there was a difference in the texts of the document itself as rendered in the Romanian copy and in the Russian text.

Chairman Komocsin stated that the Hungarian text and the Russian text were identical, and he could see no difference in these texts. He noted that there was a slight difference in the French text. However, this was purely a matter of semantics. He noted that the document does say that the Parties will consult. Komocsin remarked that the HSWP based itself on the November letter of eighteen Parties. He then asked the conference if these proposals should be accepted.

Niculescu-Mizil then suggested that this matter be discussed so that the statement issued by the conference should be by all Parties at this meeting. In his opinion, the question of the agenda must be formulated exactly since it has ideological import and political meaning. He stated he did not want to argue with Komocsin, but the eighteen Parties' text does not say "meet and discuss." The Hungarian proposal talks of mutual discussion but it should say how the Parties will discuss. This statement must say that this meeting is not the final meeting.

Vladimir Koucky of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) stated that by its very title the Budapest meeting is a "consultative" meeting. This means mutual discussion. In his opinion, the Hungarian text was the same as the original communique and he could see no difference.

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Khaled Bagdash of the Syrian Communist Party (SCP) said he could not understand what the Romanians wanted. In his view, the letter said clearly that the Parties are to "consult" about the calling of a meeting, not that the meeting is already called. The participants in this meeting still had the opportunity to say whether they do or do not want a world conference. He asked that the Romanians give more details as to why such a change in wording would be necessary.

Niculescu-Mizil of the CPR stated that in his opinion there was a need to clarify the statement. He saw no reason why they should not use the phrase "exchange views." He disagreed with Bagdash and stated that there were Parties that had reservations and would even obstruct "consultative" talks. Such Parties say that the Consultative Meeting will not deal with all the questions that go with the conference. The Romanian Party would like to do its best to clarify things concerning this meeting. But they want to emphasize that they say that this is a meeting to "exchange views."

Komocsin repeated that this was a consultative conference and asked Niculescu-Mizil if he proposed to include the phrase "exchange of views." Another delegate to the meeting also proposed the inclusion of the phrase "exchange of views" on the character and preparation of a world conference. Shripad Amrit Dange of the Communist Party of India (CPI) proposed that the formulation include "exchange of views" for the convening of an international conference. A South African delegate stated that his delegation agreed with the formulation as placed before them. He said that they cannot talk endlessly unless they do not want a conference at all. The Polish delegation agreed with the South African delegation as did M. A. Suslov of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). Suslov stated that he could find no reason or basis for the discussion going on. Suslov suggested that the difference in interpretation of the texts be straightened out by the Secretariat. Niculescu-Mizil agreed to this procedure.

Point two concerning the order of chairing the sessions was accepted.

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The next point discussed was point three ("To coordinate and organize the work of the Consultative Meeting, a Secretariat should be formed with one representative of every participating fraternal Party. The Secretariat should have the following tasks: a) To assure the continuity of the sessions and the order of chairmanship. b) To provide for the release of a daily press-bulletin. The bulletin should contain the names of Party representatives taking the chair and the names of those who addressed the Meeting on the respective day. c) To collect and sort proposals made in contributions and submit them with its recommendations to the plenary session. d) To examine all problems commissioned with by the plenary session. e) To prepare a draft for the final communique and submit it to the plenary session").

Enrico Berlinguer of the Communist Party of Italy presented a number of proposals. He suggested that in regard to the communiques given to the daily press, that this be a summary of contributions of speakers, summarized by the Secretariat in agreement with the speaker. He also suggested that some provision be made for consultation with the Secretariat and that subsection b should be discussed so that all could come to agreement.

The delegation from Ceylon questioned the need for so large a Secretariat, consisting of 67 people. In effect, the Secretariat would be holding subsidiary meetings. He suggested grouping be by geographical areas. He also noted that he would accept the formulation as written of point four of the document ("The Secretariat should make a proposal concerning the manner of publicizing the contributions of the delegations and submit it to the plenary session").

The Spanish delegation agreed on point four and also agreed with the Italian proposal that the daily communique include not only the names of the daily speakers but also a summary of their contribution. The Argentineans agreed that the Secretariat should control press communiques.

The Communist Party of Bulgaria (CPB) then stated its acceptance of the proposals of the HSWP concerning the composition of the Secretariat. Democratic procedure required that all Parties have the opportunity to be represented on the Secretariat. If some Parties did not wish representation

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on the Secretariat, then they could stay away. The Bulgarian speaker noted that it was no secret that disagreements existed; therefore, the communiques should be gone over by the Secretariat. Gus Hall of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) then noted that a lot of attention was being given to public releases but it was his view that there should not be extensive press releases when the Parties were still only "probing." Therefore, he agreed with the proposals of the HSWP and recommended brief press releases. Bagdash of Syria accepted the Hungarian proposal on point four as did Marchais of France. The Belgians agreed with the Hungarian proposal for the Secretariat but on the matter of publicity agreed with the CP of Italy on the need for a summary each day. The Guatemalan Party of Labor expressed its desire for daily press releases. Mancera of the CP of Venezuela (CPV) agreed with the proposal for the composition of the Secretariat and also suggested a brief resume be released each day on the proceedings. He stated it should be the task of each delegation to give a condensed version of its contribution.

The CPR delegation stated that it agreed that each Party should participate in the Secretariat. It also agreed that publicity is needed and that each Party should state its opinion. The whole world knows that this meeting is in progress and therefore the meeting should make all opinions public and thus do away with speculation.

The CP of Bolivia indicated agreement with the Hungarian proposals because this was a working meeting and therefore a daily release should only name the chairman and who took the floor.

Following these remarks, agreement with the Hungarian proposal for a brief release was expressed by representatives from Lebanon, Turkey, Luxembourg, Mexico, Paraguay, Chile, Uruguay, Honduras, Canada, Colombia, Portugal, Algeria, and Jordan.

Disagreement with the HSWP and support of the CP of Italy position that a daily summary should be released was expressed by the delegations from Austria and San Marino. The delegations from Finland, Reunion, and the Soviet Union suggested that the Secretariat re-examine this subject and bring in further proposals on the following day.

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Komocsin then stated that all fraternal Parties agreed on the nature and composition of the Secretariat and that all motions should be given to the Secretariat which would bring in the motions to the plenary sessions. This was agreed to by all delegations. Following this, all delegations agreed that the Secretariat would decide whether factual communiques should be issued. Komocsin then posed the question which Party should lead the Secretariat. Bagdash of Syria proposed that the Secretariat should be chaired by a representative from the HSWP and this was agreed to by the participants.

The delegation from Cyprus made a motion that the conference not exceed one week and there should be a thirty-minute time limit on each speech. The delegation from Reunion objected and suggested that they permit the Secretariat to bring in proposals on time limits. This was agreed to by the meeting.

February 27, 1968  
Chairman - Gus Hall  
Communist Party, USA

It was announced that the first speech would be by the delegation from the CP of Spain followed by a delegate from South Africa. However, prior to this, it was noted that Niculescu-Mizil of Romania had a statement to make.

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Niculescu-Mizil stated that his delegation was happy that the proposals in regard to the press statements had been accepted. However, the Romanian delegation was not satisfied with the agenda. He urged the meeting to state unanimously that the meeting has a positive character and its aim is a "mutual exchange of views." He asked all delegations to agree that there would be no criticism of other fraternal Parties whether the Parties were present or not. The Romanian delegation would work according to that principle.

Komocsin stated that on the previous day at the plenary session and afterwards there had been an exchange of views concerning the agenda. Comrade Niculescu-Mizil had made statements concerning the translation. The Hungarians had checked all the translations and found they were exactly identical with the exception of the French and Spanish translations but, even then, the latter two contained the same essence. However, in order to avoid further differences on this subject, Komocsin proposed that the meeting formulate the agenda as follows: 1) The Consultative Meeting has one point on the agenda: the convocation of an International Conference of Fraternal Parties. 2) Every fraternal Party has its own sovereignty. In their National Committees, they make their own expressions of policy. Komocsin stated that the meeting must make valid the idea that none of the fraternal Parties will be condemned.

Mikhail A. Suslov of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) stated that at the previous day's plenary session these questions had been discussed in detail. He stated that the Soviet delegation endorses the aim of Komocsin concerning the aims of this meeting and also that it is the right of each Party to express its own opinion in its own way.

The Bulgarian delegation then stated that it gave its unconditional support to the proposals of Comrade Komocsin.

Niculescu-Mizil then stated that the Romanian proposals were made to facilitate the meeting. He noted that there had been no unanimous decisions yet on the agenda. He stated the meeting should repeat that this was a consultative meeting to "exchange views." He noted that this is a theoretical concept and it should be so identified and the Secretariat should find a solution to putting this into proper wording. Secondly,

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Niculescu-Mizil argued that the Romanian delegation did not agree that votes be taken on questions before the meeting. According to Niculescu-Mizil, a majority vote can only be implemented by individual Parties. Some other solution than voting must be found in order to preserve the sovereign integrity of each Party. He repeated his contention that the meeting should not criticize or condemn any Party not present at the meeting. He stated that this request was elementary.. The Romanian standpoint was to restore the unity of the world communist movement.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) delegation then proposed that a vote be taken on the proposal of Komocsin. An objection was made that if the Romanian proposals were accepted, the meeting would have to agree not to call or convene a conference. Hall of the CP, USA remarked that the meeting had spent hours on the same subject yesterday and subsequently in the Secretariat and therefore if there were no more speakers, the meeting should proceed to a vote. This was followed by remarks from the delegations of Reunion, Spain, Honduras, and Czechoslovakia objecting to the quibbling over words.

Niculescu-Mizil continued his objection that no majority vote in this meeting could replace the vote of a fraternal Party. He stated that this was a consultative meeting for an exchange of views.

Marchais of France voiced French agreement with Komocsin that there be one point on the agenda. He stated that if the rule of unanimity were accepted, then one Party could veto all other Parties. The Austrian delegation expressed its acceptance of the Hungarian formulation and Jackson of the CP, USA stated that everyone present knew the purposes for coming to this meeting and all Parties could defend themselves. Sarcas- tically, he implored the Romanians "do not save my rights." Jackson noted that most questions raised at the meeting were technical, not substantive, and proposed that the meeting proceed to vote.

The delegations from Australia, Uruguay, Portugal, Belgium, Argentina, and Syria then each expressed its agreement with the proposals of Komocsin of the HSWP. Bagdash of Syria went so far as to accuse the Romanians of wanting to prevent the convening of an international conference.

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The Romanian delegation requested Belgium to repeat its proposal which was done. This proposal was that the formulation state that the meeting was a consultative meeting to examine the convening of an International Conference of CPs. After the Sudanese expressed their agreement with the Hungarian proposals, Niculescu-Mizil stated that he could not understand why the Romanian proposals had not been given greater consideration. He stated that the Romanians would accept the wording "This meeting is a consultative one. It has on its agenda one question: the examining of the convening of and preparation for a world conference of Communist Parties." He stated that this was a combination of Hungarian and French proposals.

Once again the delegation from Sudan expressed agreement with the HSWP as did the delegation from the CP of Germany. Komocsin of the HSWP expressed his Party's agreement to the formulation that this conference was a consultative meeting with one question on the agenda, stating that the Communist and Workers' Parties were examining the convening of a world conference. The Romanian delegation agreed to this formulation.

The meeting then proceeded to the first speaker to formally express his views. The delegate from the CP of Spain expressed its thanks to the HSWP for holding this meeting. The CP of Spain agreed on the need for a world conference, stated the struggle against U.S. imperialism must be intensified, and the unity of the world communist movement must be reconstituted.

February 27, 1968  
Chairman - Fernando Nadra,  
Communist Party of Argentina

After a recess, the next speaker was a delegate from the CP of South Africa. He stated that the South African statement would be duplicated and passed out. He continued that the forces of imperialism are on the march and on the offensive but that the CPs continue wrangling. In his view, if the world communist movement does not unite, it will be overtaken by disaster while its members continue to debate. For one reason or another, some Parties have been saying other Parties should "stew in their own juice." The South African CP believes that

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all communists must act or history will be retarded for some time. The South Africans favor a world meeting of CPs and the agenda of that next conference should mobilize support for Vietnam, against colonialism, and as a counterthreat to a third world war. All who participated in the 1960 meeting should be invited and there should be also invited those Marxist-Leninist Parties which were organized since that time. He suggested that delegates forget about a veto because they were all brother Parties and could decide things by vote.

The next speaker was from the CP of Ecuador. He stated that communists should be organized everywhere. He reaffirmed the correctness of the 1957 and 1960 Declarations but noted that there have been changes in the world. The CP of Ecuador went on record as supporting a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and suggested that the conference should be held in Moscow, USSR.

The next speaker was from the CP of Ceylon. He stated that communists must demonstrate their unity to counter imperialism which is applying pressure on new Asian states. It has been precisely in Asia that the effects of communist disunity have been felt. Therefore, it is the belief of Ceylon that the conference cannot disband without agreement on holding a conference, without setting a date in 1968 to hold this conference in Moscow. Such a conference should consider such problems as monopolies, wars of liberation, etc. A new document is necessary even if it is not as elaborate as the 1957 and 1960 documents. Furthermore, such a document should not be a repudiation of the above documents. He suggested that every Party should be invited except where there has been a split in a CP in which case the split-offs should not be invited.

The next speaker was from the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP). He expressed agreement on the need for an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. The presence of 67 Parties at the Consultative Meeting proved that it could be done. He expressed the absolute need for unity and noted that the Communist Manifesto, itself, expressed the formulation "Workers of the world unite." Such unity and cooperation among Communist and Workers' Parties is needed to counter reaction. Of course, all Parties must decide their own line, but a meeting of CPs gives these policies an international context.

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The aggressions of imperialism have intensified but if a world war has not broken out, it is owing to the USSR and its strength. According to the Polish delegate, the U.S. has not given up its drive for world domination. Local wars being waged by the U.S. endanger world peace and could lead to wider wars. At the same time, the U.S. is trying in a most barbarous way to stop wars of national liberation.

In Europe, continued the Polish delegate, many U.S. allies are worried about President L. B. Johnson's wars and the dangers to their own interests. NATO, CENTO, and SEATO are disintegrating and France is standing at a distance from U.S. policies. Of course, the most faithful ally of the U.S. in Europe is West Germany wherein there is a "danger" of a revival of neo-Nazism. West Germany constitutes the biggest danger to the peace in Europe. Most bourgeois governments are not in agreement with the U.S. These facts make wider alliances possible to thwart the domination of the U.S.

In Eastern Europe, the socialist countries are supported by most new countries of the so-called "third world" while the U.S. is trying to suppress these new countries. There is great concern by all communists about the disunity in their own camp. The U.S. took advantage of this disunity to launch its attack in Vietnam. In reality, there are some differences among CPs in the socialist countries; but these differences should not affect their aims against the common enemy. An international conference could help to strengthen the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties and these differences could even be minimized. What unites communists is greater than those things that divide communists. Marxism-Leninism is the theory that unites communists.

There are differences on such things as the inevitability of war but a conference could help each Party to give its opinion. The PUWP does not say that war is "excluded." Some criticize the idea of peaceful coexistence but the PUWP thinks differently. The CPs should discuss these differences on the question of violent and non-violent roads to revolution. Such an exchange of views is in keeping with the best traditions of the communist movement.

The Polish delegate stated that his Party was not concerned about any threat to the rights of Parties. He stated

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that the Party and government in socialist states have their own policies but they also have some obligations. He noted that the Soviet Union has a special role for the security of the socialist countries. He stressed the rights of all Parties to raise any problem. To solidify the unity of the world communist movement, he stated that a new document was now needed even though some may not sign it. Differences between Parties are allowable as long as there is a joint struggle against imperialism.

The PUWP stated it is in favor of an International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties to be held in December, 1968, or January, 1969, and the site of the meeting should be Moscow. It was urged that the Preparatory Commission should work in Budapest and all Parties should join in these preparations even if such Parties were not present in Budapest.

February 27, 1968 - afternoon session  
Chairman - Claude Jones  
Communist Party of Australia

A delegate from the CP of Germany, after describing the threat of neo-Nazism in Germany, expressed his Party's desires for a world conference to be held in November, 1968, in Moscow. It was the view of the CP of Germany that such a world conference of communists must precede any larger anti-imperialist conference.

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The next speaker was Mikhail A. Suslov of the CPSU. Suslov extended the thanks of the CPSU to the HSWP for its efforts in preparing this conference. The convocation of this conference reflects the resolve of the fraternal Parties for unity. He noted that there had been discussion in the world movement about holding a new world conference for the past two or three years and now they were actually proceeding to prepare this conference collectively. The fraternal Parties hold an identical view to unite the world movement to wage a more effective struggle against the chief enemy of the people--imperialism. Speakers from this rostrum had made constructive suggestions and proposals for the success of this meeting. The belief of the CPSU is that the convocation of an international meeting is a natural requirement of the international communist movement under present day conditions. Granted that each Party enjoys independence, but all Parties can meet to coordinate their activities and cooperation. The CPSU believes that the convocation of a new international meeting is called for by the need for unity in the fight against imperialism. Despite certain difficulties within the communist movement, revolution is the principal trend of world development and revolutionary forces are facing new tasks and fresh opportunities.

The socialist countries are building up their economic, political, and military might. Many countries are following the leadership of the socialist states and are helping to change the balance of forces in favor of socialism. The national liberation movement is growing and those who have thrown off the colonial rule are now advancing and are fighting the neo-colonialism of imperialism. The political forces taking shape in the struggle against imperialism are reaching a new stage.

There are far-reaching changes also taking place in advanced capitalist countries. There the workers also are fighting against the omnipotence of the monopolies and there is growing dissatisfaction particularly among the youths and intelligentsia.

The communist movement must take note of the specific features of the current period and improve its political line and enrich its tactics. There is also another important argument

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in favor of calling a new international meeting. The reactionary forces are exploiting a certain slackening of unity in the socialist system and in the world communist movement to embark upon aggression. The United States is resorting to more direct aggression such as their criminal war against the Vietnamese people, the provocations against Cuba and Korea, the interference into the affairs of Latin-American countries, the organization of reactionary coups in Asia, the reactionary coup in Greece, and the encouragement of neo-Nazism in West Germany.

The imperialist emphasis on local wars creates tension and can lead to the threat of a world war. But imperialism is being exposed as a bankrupt force. United States imperialism has not come any closer to its goal. Its military gambles have not been successful.

The Soviet Union and other socialist countries are giving economic and military aid to the people of Vietnam. United States imperialism is being rebuffed and, as a result, is becoming morally and politically isolated. United States policy breeds contradictions in the imperialist camp which present fresh opportunities to take advantage and rebuff the attacks of imperialism.

It is no secret that there is some disunity in the international communist movement. Nationalist tendencies have appeared. It is the duty of the communist movement to frustrate imperialism's efforts to split the forces confronting it. The leading tendency in the communist movement is the tendency toward unity but there is a different understanding of the degree of unity needed.

The CPSU favors the strict observance of the sovereignty and independence of all CPs. But nevertheless an exchange of opinions on the ideological and political basis for the development of international ties of fraternal Parties is needed to further the common goals of the entire movement. The CPSU believes it is natural to hold candid discussions in a businesslike way. CPs should strive to combine

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national goals and international aims in order to frustrate the enemy which is trying to divide communist ranks.

The CPSU would sincerely welcome all Communist and Workers' Parties including those now separated by ideological and political differences. In preparing for this meeting, no Party should be excommunicated. The CPSU says that the main aim of the new meeting is unity and once more unity.

However, no Party should try to discredit the movement or block the holding of a world meeting. Some Parties gave a rude reply to the invitation of the HSWP to this meeting which demonstrated their unwillingness to cooperate with other CPs. The Mao group of the CP of China has turned a deaf ear to the call of proletarian internationalism accepted among communists.

To ask for the postponement of a new meeting is to delay the response of communism to imperialism. That is why the CPSU calls for this meeting to be held in November or December, 1968.

Such a meeting would give a new ideological and political stimulus to the communist movement, promote united action by all revolutionary forces against imperialism, for peace, democracy, national independence, and socialism. Strengthening the unity of the communist movement and all the revolutionary forces in the struggle against imperialism should be the main subject on the agenda of the meeting.

The struggle against imperialism must be aimed against the imperialist system as a whole, against the domination of monopoly capitalism. While concentrating on daily demands and problems, the communist movement must not forget the ultimate aims of the movement. It must analyze the revolutionary potentialities of the anti-imperialist forces.

Also important is the role of the proletariat as the hub of all anti-monopoly forces in the social structure of capitalist society. In this light communists could review

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the question of united action with left socialists and social democrats against state-monopoly capitalism. Communists could discuss giving greater support to the national liberation movements. More profound study is needed on the development of newly liberated countries and on ways of strengthening the ties between communists and these masses. An international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties would be an example to a subsequent broad anti-imperialist conference.

The results of such a meeting should be summed up in an extensive document setting forth the position of communism as an international force and as an inspiration to others. This document should not repeat the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Statement. No one wants to cling to every letter of these documents. The new document should reflect some things that are new. This document must clearly express the ideological direction of the communist movement, its fidelity to Marxism-Leninism, and the resolve to follow the road of proletarian, scientific communism. All communists should pay particular attention to increasing support to peoples fighting armed aggression and provocations of imperialism; first of all, the strengthening of international solidarity with the embattled Vietnamese people.

The meeting should consider intensifying the struggle against nuclear war.

The meeting should explore the class content of the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with opposite social systems. Such a policy makes it possible to mobilize the broad masses against the aggression of imperialism and presupposes a firm rebuff to imperialist encroachments on the freedom and independence of the people of the world. The question of how to prepare the documents of this meeting must be decided. The CPSU supports the idea that they should be drawn up collectively by the fraternal Parties. A Preparatory Committee should be formed at this meeting to prepare for the international conference. Even those Parties not in Budapest for this meeting, for whatever reason, can work with the Preparatory Committee and can send in their representatives or their written opinions. This coordinating committee can then

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systematize documents, etc. This Preparatory Committee should go out of existence when the international meeting begins.

At this time, CPs are carrying out their work in diverse ways. Therefore, the CPSU sees no need for the organization of a leading international center of the movement. Each Party can elaborate and apply their own policies within the contemporary forms of unity and coordination of action of the fraternal Parties.

The communist movement is the only force fighting for a new system to rally progressive forces to rebuff imperialism. The communist movement expresses the interest of the broad masses. The communist movement needs unity based upon the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The CPSU, loyal to Leninist traditions, will do everything in its power to accomplish the unity of the communist movement and all socialist and democratic forces.

February 27, 1968  
Chairman - Erwin Scharf  
Communist Party of Austria

At the opening of the next session, the representative of the CP of Chile expressed the view of that Party that the communist movement should not wait any longer for a new international meeting.

The representative of the CPR then made the following remarks:

He expressed his thanks to the Hungarian hosts. The CPR decided to take part in this meeting to prepare a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in an effort to proceed on the path of cohesion of the entire movement. The essential feature of present-day life is the growth of socialism

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in all socialist countries. In some countries there has been increased unity between CPs and socialists.

The unity of world communist forces is based upon the categorical demands of the day and efforts in a positive direction to develop fraternal cooperation. This meeting should do nothing to worsen such relations; this would weaken the struggle against imperialism. The CPR appreciates the strengthening of bilateral contacts between Parties but the CPR stands for multilateral contacts. Therefore, in principle, the CPR is in favor of international conferences.

Because of current divergencies and suspicions, any conference at this time must make a contribution to the weakening of tensions, to bringing together divergent elements for unity. This conference must be organized on the basis of prior consultations and on the basis of agreement of all Parties. The CPR regrets that it was not previously consulted about the intention of calling this Consultative Meeting and only learned of this decision in early November in Moscow from bourgeois correspondents. Such a fait accompli does not seem natural. The convening of this meeting by the 18 Parties which participated in the March, 1965 gathering limited the consultations among Parties. All Communist and Workers' Parties should have been invited without exception and without using the criterion of previous involvement in the 1960 Moscow conference.

The coming conference should not re-endorse the documents of the 1957 and 1960 conferences. Each conference is a separate manifestation and is not a succession or part of the previous conferences. In this connection, it is also believed that the failure to invite the Yugoslav League of Communists is a discrimination. Likewise, the splits in the CPs of Israel and India have resulted in two Parties in each country, both of which should have been invited. Such discrimination does not lead to unity. This is being raised by the CPR only in order to prevent the future repetition of such discrimination.

It is obvious that a great number of Communist and Workers' Parties are not participating in this present meeting,

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including the CP of China, the Party of Labor of Albania, CP of Cuba, the Korean Party of Labor, and the Working People's Party of Vietnam. The reasons for their non-participation vary from Party to Party, but the fact is that nearly half the socialist countries will be absent from the international conference if this trend continues. Therefore, such a conference would not demonstrate unity of the socialist countries. Furthermore, CPs from such capitalist countries as Japan, Indonesia, Holland, Sweden, Burma, Laos, Thailand, and Malaysia are not present. Neither is the continent of Africa well represented. This mirrors the state of affairs in the communist movement. The fundamental, essential problem is to prepare conditions for a conference to really contribute to unity among CPs. This Consultative Meeting should prepare conditions for better participation and representation of all CPs.

At this meeting there should be a free and constructive discussion in order to obtain unanimous representation. This meeting should also unanimously agree on the aim of the international conference, on the agenda, on the nature of the final document, etc. In determining the agenda, the CPR wishes to retain the consultative character of the conference. If decisions are made at the Consultative Meeting this will mean that others not present at this meeting have only the choice of endorsing them or not, and this will not contribute to breaking down the reserves which have kept many Parties from the Budapest meeting. The CPR declares itself ready for a full exchange of views and hopes to lay the basis for the inclusion of all Parties in the future conference.

The CPR believes a question to be clarified at the Consultative Meeting is the character of a future international conference. The CPR supports only a conference that will unite the communist movement on the issues of struggle. The CPR does not support a universal document like the 1960 Statement which was held out as a rule for all Parties. The international conference must not establish directives; rather, it should help

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to smooth conditions for the unity of all fraternal Parties. A judicious proposal is to discuss the concrete problems of the present struggle against imperialism. This would certainly not broaden the divergencies within the movement. A future international conference should be limited to an agenda proposing joint actions against imperialism, first of all, U.S. imperialism. The CPR supports the brave people of Vietnam and this Consultative Meeting should adopt a statement of solidarity with the Vietnamese people.

In view of the fact that many Parties are unrepresented at the Budapest meeting, the preparatory meeting should work in the spirit of understanding and rapprochement. Therefore, it is important to establish that all CPs, without exception or discrimination, will be invited to the international conference, including both CPs in India and Israel.

Some Parties have suggested that invitations be sent to all progressive anti-imperialist fronts. This Consultative Meeting should discuss ways in which participation of such forces would be possible. By not excluding such forces, the international conference could build a broad anti-imperialist front.

The CPR believes that the Budapest meeting should decide the character of the final document. The final document cannot be programmatic and the principle of democratic centralism cannot apply to such a broad international meeting.

A future international conference should not discuss or criticize any fraternal Party present or not present at the meeting. The sovereign right of each Party to present its own point of view is dear to the CPR. It is regrettable that even at this meeting a policy of a fraternal Party has been discussed. The CPR declares itself in support of not discussing in any forum the internal or international activities or policy of other Communist and Workers' Parties.

All problems in the preparation of the conference should be resolved so as not to infer that relations between Parties are based on the idea of a leading center. Unity

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can only be built on the principle of each Party's independence and sovereignty, of equality and non-interference, and of the right of each Party to decide its own policy and activity.

Therefore, the CPR believes that there is much work to be done for the organization of an international conference leading to unity. Under the present conditions, such a conference would only flagrantly illustrate the lack of unity in the communist movement. Thus, the CPR believes it is premature to establish the date of a future international conference. This question could be taken up at the next Consultative Meeting. The same is true regarding the establishment of a site for the next international conference. Perhaps the site could be rotated among host Parties. The CPR emphasizes its intention to participate in the preparation of such an international conference.

February 27, 1968  
Chairman - Jean Terfve  
Communist Party of Belgium

The delegate from the Bulgarian CP expressed that Party's support for an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties rather than just a general anti-imperialist conference. In his view, the 1960 Moscow Statement of 81 Parties is still valid and has been proved correct. He attacked the slander of the CPSU by the CP of China. He called for the inclusion in the future international conference of those Parties which have been formed since 1960. The CP of Bulgaria urged that this meeting call for the convening of a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. He stated this cannot just happen by itself; it must be organized.

The next speaker was Gus Hall, General Secretary, CP, USA, who commented in essence as follows:

He noted that the forces of imperialism place a top tag of priority on world communist disunity. But world communist unity is a question of top priority to defeat imperialism in general and is a burning necessity to defeat U.S. imperialism in particular. The Budapest conference can set into motion a



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new world-wide anti-imperialist offensive. An urgent question on the conference table is how to effectively administer a crushing and historic defeat for imperialism. The victories of the military struggle of the people of Vietnam have proved the U.S. cannot win militarily in Vietnam. U.S. aggression in Vietnam has isolated the U.S. from the rest of the world.

These new developments argue with new force for world communist unity. The CP, USA realistically estimates what must be done to defeat U.S. imperialism. The cost of U.S. aggression has come high resulting in a developing crisis in the USA. But the present form and content of world communist unity is totally inadequate to today's realities. To oppose every step toward communist unity is, in fact, to oppose such unity in content and form.

The concept of working class internationalism is also a matter of great principle. The CP, USA is for a world conference of all Marxist-Leninist Parties without conditions. The CP, USA is for full preparations, for holding the conference in 1968. After eight years, the time is now. World communist unity is not a peripheral issue; it is a necessity in battle. The CP, USA is convinced that world communist unity should be reflected in some organized system for exchanging experiences and for consultations between Parties. This is not a proposal for the resurrection of the Comintern or Cominform. It is not a proposal for a new world communist center. In current circumstances this proposal does not threaten the autonomous sovereign status of Parties. But the lack of organized system of relations and exchanges has facilitated the encroachment of some Parties into autonomous spheres of their brother Parties. The real problem is fear of how the enemy will demagogically use any new organized relationships between CPs.

The basic line of battle against such enemy propaganda is the correct application of the science of Marxism to the specific realities of each nation. This slander is often pinpointed in the charge that communists are agents of Moscow. The charge is slander but the ideological question is real. Anti-Sovietism is a main ideological pillar of U.S. imperialism.

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And there is pressure to use what is called "little anti-Sovietism" to prove each Party's independence. This is the price of respectability.

The absence of steps toward greater world unity endangers all future unity. It is a force for dispersal. The time has come for removing the power of veto by one or more Parties over what the rest of the communist movement should do. Such veto powers mean paralysis and stalemate.

A world-wide system of exchange of information about struggles is needed. This breathes life into the principle of proletarian internationalism. With a modern, progressive world press service, communist papers would become the most authoritative papers of their countries. The growth of the world Marxist movement argues for some system of exchanges and consultations between Parties of the world.

Perhaps these exchanges of experiences, opinions, and information can be handled by means of commissions. There might be commissions on petty bourgeois radicalism in capitalist countries, on the role and problems of nationalism, on the problems of trade unions. If the use of commissions is unacceptable, different methods can be found.

As to the scope of the deliberation of the world communist conference, the CP, USA believes that the conference should discuss the cardinal questions of the moment, questions of common concern. The basis of the conference should be the assessment of and struggle against imperialism, especially against U.S. imperialism.

February 27, 1968  
Chairman - Boris Velchev  
Bulgarian Communist Party

The next speaker was Anna Liisa Hyvonen of the CP of Finland. She was followed by a delegate from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), German Democratic Republic (GDR). He stated that the SUPG supports all measures that will bring about

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unity and supports an international conference of world Communist and Workers' Parties. He stressed the fact that West German imperialism is the ally of U.S. imperialism and charged that there is a revival of neo-Nazism and revanchism in West Germany. He called for the holding of the international conference in 1968 in Moscow, USSR.

February 28, 1968  
Chairman - Representative of the  
Communist Party of Bolivia

The opening speaker at this session was Ezekias Papaioannou of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL). He stated that U.S. imperialist aggression is not a sign of strength but of weakness. He charged that if the CP of China had not split with the world communist movement but had worked in harmony with other progressive forces like the Soviet Union, then U.S. imperialism would never have ventured its aggressive war in Vietnam and if the U.S. had dared, they would have been defeated by this time. AKEL expressed its support of a world conference to be held in November, 1968, in Moscow, USSR.

The next speaker was a delegate from the CP of Austria. He stated that his Party favors an international conference of world Communist and Workers' Parties.

The next speaker was Bagdash of the CP of Syria. Bagdash described the recent events in the Mideast and Syria and charged that the aggression of Israel was undertaken on behalf of U.S. imperialism. It is the view of the CP of Syria that a conference of all Communist and Workers' Parties should be held as soon as possible. He attacked the position advanced previously by the CPR.

Niculesuc-Mizil of the CPR then took the floor to protest this attack on the position of the CPR and continued in essence as follows:

He stated that the CPR had come to Budapest to discuss the question of preparing for an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. In his view, on this question

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there can be various views. Every Party can have its own view on the subject of the character of the meeting and its agenda, etc. Niculescu-Mizil stated that it is quite proper to debate the Romanian views on the conference, but he would not agree that this meeting was the place for a discussion of the CPR. He stated that it did not matter if the CPR was right or wrong, but what did matter is that Bagdash chose to discuss the CPR. He protested the charge of Bagdash that the CPR is against the slogan raised by Karl Marx "Workers of the world unite." Niculescu-Mizil denied that this was so. He protested the Syrian method of debate and demanded that the Syrian delegate withdraw his false statements. Then, Niculescu-Mizil threatened that if debate continued in this spirit, the CPR would be forced not to participate in this meeting.

Following Niculescu-Mizil's remarks, the meeting adjourned for an hour and a half while individual efforts were made to obtain an apology from the Syrians to the Romanians.

February 28, 1968  
Chairman - Luis Carlos Prestes  
Brazilian Communist Party

The first delegate to take the floor was Bagdash from the CP of Syria. He stated that the CP of Syria had taken into consideration the statement of the Romanian CP delegation. Therefore, prompted by the higher consideration of the aims of this meeting, any criticisms of the CPR should, by the request of the CP of Syria, be deleted from the minutes of the meeting.

Niculescu-Mizil of the Romanian CP then stated that guided by the necessity of the continuation of the work of this conference, the CPR took note of the Syrian statement to delete all critical remarks from the record and, therefore, considered this statement as the required apology.

The delegate from the People's Party of Iran then stated that a conference of world CPs would not solve all

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problems but if such a meeting were not to be convened at all, nothing would be done to achieve unity in the world communist movement. He urged the meeting to explore ways to strengthen this unity. He favored one point on the agenda, "the anti-imperialist struggle." The Iranian Party favored such a conference by the end of 1968 in Moscow, USSR. He also urged that the Yugoslav League of Communists should be invited and favored the establishment of a Preparatory Committee which should have representatives from all Parties and which should be headquartered in Budapest, Hungary.

The next speaker was from the French CP. This Party favored an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties which would be in the interests of all Parties. This meeting would re-enforce the unity of all peoples against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. He stated that U.S. imperialism has developed a global strategy against socialism and against the national liberation movement. The U.S. imperialists are intensifying nuclear armaments and are trying to reverse the wheels of history, taking the risk of possibly launching a nuclear war.

According to the CP of France, Vietnam is only the beginning of U.S. aspirations. The U.S. has continued its policy of war and bombing in Vietnam despite the efforts of Hanoi for peace. The U.S. has escalated the war, extending it into Cambodia, and has used the threat of tactical nuclear weapons. The French CP reaffirmed its determination to render all possible assistance to the people of Vietnam until they are victorious.

In the Mideast the U.S. has been keeping the tinder-box hot. In Europe, U.S. has been trying to insure its hegemony by encouraging West German revanchism. The French expressed the view that European security is the most important problem.

The CP of France believes that only imperialists benefit from divisions in the world communist movement, and therefore the French CP supports an international meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties. Its view is that the divergencies that exist in the world communist movement should not act to isolate any Party. All Parties share the common

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teaching of Marxism-Leninism and have a splendid record of proletarian internationalism at their disposal. World Parties need only the will to overcome difficulties. Nevertheless, all true Marxist-Leninist Parties will fight opportunism from the left or from the right.

The delegate from the CP of France voiced the determination of that Party to fight the Mao group of the CP of China for its interference in the affairs of the CP of France. He stated that Maoism is a break from proletarian internationalism. The CP of France believes that the success of an international conference will create favorable conditions for a wide anti-imperialist front. The conference should take the initiative among all others for a world united front of anti-imperialists.

The CP of France delegate reasserted the necessity of a world conference and suggested that the date be fixed at the end of 1968. He suggested Moscow as the place of the conference if the CPSU agrees. The CP of France stated that all CPs in the world should be invited, including the 81 Parties that attended the Moscow meeting of 1960 as well as others including the Yugoslav League of Communists and those Parties founded since 1960.

The position of the CP of France was that the task of the Consultative Meeting was to formulate an agenda which should be a limited one, not a universal one as in 1960. Since that time, some issues have changed while others remain valid. The conference should consider current tasks in the fight against imperialism. According to the French, the international conference would be a phase in the struggle to reconstitute the consolidation of the international communist movement.

Suslov of the CPSU then advised the meeting that the draft of the appeal for solidarity with the Vietnamese people against U.S. imperialism had been prepared. After some discussion of methods of adopting this appeal, copies were passed out to the delegates and it was read. In spite of a garbled sentence in the appeal which was passed out, it was agreed that the draft be

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accepted as it was with the provision that the wording would be fixed before it was released to the press. Therefore, the text was agreed to and it was announced that the appeal would be cabled to Hanoi that night and a copy would be turned over to the Vietnamese representation in Budapest.

February 29, 1968  
Chairman - S. A. Wickremasinghe  
Communist Party of Ceylon

When the session convened, the chairman suggested that the meeting adjourn until 11:00 a.m. in view of the fact that the CPR had raised some problems. Therefore, the meeting adjourned.

When the meeting reassembled at 11:00 a.m., the delegate from the CPR took the floor. He stated that his delegation had informed the Central Committee of the CPR of the attack on that Party by the CP of Syria, and its subsequent apology. As a consequence, the Central Committee of the CPR had authorized the Romanian delegation to make the following statement. There was agreement that at this meeting there would be an exchange of views about the convening of an international meeting without criticisms or attacks on any other Party. On this basis, the CPR agreed to participate and suggested that the above fraternal procedures be followed. But despite this, the CPR was attacked at this conference. This violated the agreement and the character of the meeting. Such attacks were a hindrance to free discussion.

The Central Committee of the Romanian CP instructed the delegation to raise this question as a most important one and expressed its disagreement and rejected these attacks. The CPR made a new plea to all delegations of all CPs present that during this Consultative Meeting no Party, whether present or not, should be attacked. Only under these conditions could the Romanian delegation remain. The Romanian CP considered the demand for free discussion in a comradely fashion as a matter of principle, that no international meeting can criticize or debate any other Party whether present or not. If some CP

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considered this demand as presenting obstacles to its policy, then let it consult its Central Committee. The Romanian CP again expressed its desire to participate in this Consultative Meeting in the spirit expressed above.

Komocsin of the HSWP then stated that it was clear to all present why this Consultative Meeting had been convened. The call to the conference had indicated clearly the area of discussion: To prepare for an international conference of CPs. On the basis of discussion so far, the Parties present were justified that all agreed to carry through this task successfully. In the previous afternoon's session Syria exercised criticism of certain aspects of Romanian CP policy. The Romanian delegation asked for an apology and Comrade Bagdash withdrew his criticism. The Romanian delegation in their remarks agreed to accept the Syrian statement. The meeting then proceeded and the meeting listened to speeches and with some relief greeted the resolution on Vietnam which was released to the press.

The 67 Parties in attendance at this meeting felt that those Parties did not abuse anyone or any other Parties. Therefore, they could not beg the pardon of the Romanian CP or any other fraternal Party. The Consultative Meeting, as a collective gathering, could not clarify the speeches or contributions of any Party. This would be a violation of the sovereignty or autonomy of other Parties. Therefore, the 67 Parties could not accept responsibility for the speeches of any other Party. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss and exchange views. Therefore, the Parties present opposed the idea of qualifying speeches or expressing collective opinions on such things as individuals. Komocsin expressed his conviction that speeches at the Consultative Meeting had not carried on a policy of criticism. He said that each Party had the right to say what it should say and what to omit. The sovereignty of CPs gave them these rights. No one can stop them. In listening to speeches, it was noted that some were theoretical and some were critical of the Chinese. The HSWP could understand why there was this type of criticism. The HSWP gave all Parties a report from the HSWP on the efforts to convene this meeting which contained answers from some Parties. It was the view of the HSWP that the fraternal Parties were correct when they condemned the vitriolic criticism contained in the Chinese answer. Nevertheless, the HSWP expressed the belief that the Consultative Meeting was attended by delegations which are sovereign. There were no preconditions upon attendance or non-attendance; this was up to each Party individually.

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Komocsin asked the Romanian delegation to consider the joint aims of the meeting. All Parties were able to work freely and express their views freely. He asked the Romanians and the other Parties to continue with the tasks set by all the Parties.

Niculescu-Mizil of the CPR again took the floor and commented as follows. He stated that he had attentively listened to the words of Komocsin. The Central Committee of the Romanian CP had authorized him to raise a principled question in connection with the work of the meeting. The Parties which convened this meeting in a written, publicized document had said that this meeting had no right to criticize any Party. Niculescu-Mizil reiterated that the Romanians would not participate in any meeting that does so. He stated that the CPR does not engage in criticism of any other Party. When they decided to attend this meeting, they said that they did not expect any other Party to be criticized. However, several criticisms had been leveled at other Parties.

Niculescu-Mizil admitted that it is the right of any other Party at an international meeting to say anything that must be said but if the spirit of the Consultative Meeting is critical (even if not public), in the Romanian opinion, this prevents an exchange of views freely. The Romanian CP had postulated views at this meeting that differ from other Parties. As a consequence, the CPR has been attacked at the plenary session. The Central Committee of the CPR cannot agree with the methods of solving this problem. The delegation of the CPR wished to place this question with great feeling: Should it or should it not participate in this meeting? Niculescu-Mizil repeated that the CPR favored continuing participation in this meeting. They had accepted the Syrian reply but when this was communicated to the Central Committee of the CPR, the response was that the CPR cannot accept this inadequate apology of the Syrians.

The Romanian idea is that a form must be found whereby the meeting, as a whole, could express disagreement with these attacks. Romania does not propose that the meeting approve or disapprove this or that standpoint. The Syrian comrade postulated the Syrian attack in a series of questions, but it was in reality an attack on the CPR. According to

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Niculescu-Mizil, no Party has that right. No conference has the right to proceed in that fashion. Romania suggested that the meeting, as a whole, find a form in which to declare disagreement with that attack.

Secondly, Niculescu-Mizil proposed that the meeting draw up a comradely declaration to all fraternal Parties attending the meeting to refrain from criticisms of Parties, whether present or not.

In regard to the statement of Komocsin that the meeting continue its work without giving an answer to the motions of the delegation of the CPR, Niculescu-Mizil stated that the Central Committee of the CPR would convene in a special session to listen to the answer to the CPR proposals. If no satisfactory answer would be received and until such time as the CPR delegation hears from its Central Committee, Romania would not participate any further in this meeting.

Romania suggested a solution to the problem which they believed to be a correct solution. Niculescu-Mizil begged the understanding of the meeting for the request of the CPR and its motion to make it possible to continue participation in this meeting.

A delegate from the CP of France then took the floor and stated as follows. At the previous day's meeting, the delegation of the CPR said that the Syrian CP had attacked Romanian internal policy. Thereupon, Comrade Bagdash withdrew his remarks. The Romanian delegation accepted the Syrian statement and the incident was removed from the minutes of the meeting and the meeting continued. All Parties agreed and were glad that they were able to continue. However, now the Central Committee of the CPR asked that the question be raised again. The French delegate announced that for their part the French would not do so. They could not take a stand on an incident that was between two delegations.

Also, the CPR wanted the meeting to adopt a declaration that no Party present or absent be criticized. The CP of France

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disagreed and stated that each Party must be responsible and adult and free to do as it sees fit. He noted that the French have their own position and no Party can claim the right to force its standpoint upon others. Such a position is in contradiction to the aims of the meeting and yet the CPR gave an ultimatum to the meeting.

The Romanian delegation requested that in these talks no Party should be criticized. Apart from the previous day's incident, no one was attacked. However, in the name of the French Party, the French delegate stated that the French had spoken about the Chinese Party. He noted that if that criticism was considered an attack, the French protest such a view. It was the position of the CP of France that it favors unity and is against condemnation or exclusion of any Party, no matter how wide the differences. But the French must reject the Chinese efforts to split the world communist movement. The CP of France is not a ruling Party and the bourgeois press distorts its position. It cannot be permitted that they distort the policy of the CP of France, even though the Party is for unity. The CP of France criticized the Chinese because the CP of China said that this was a black conference of counter-revolutionaries, of traitors, etc. The French replied to this as a necessity. The French opinion is that if unity against imperialism is broken, it violates proletarian internationalism. The French delegate protested that the French reply was modest compared to the attack. The French delegate concluded by suggesting rejection of the Romanian motion and suggested that the meeting continue.

Following this, Vladimir Koucky of the CP of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) made the following remarks: The Czech delegation stated that the proceedings thus far were characterized by a democratic character and a spirit of equal rights. Every Party was able to give its idea on the problems appearing on the accepted agenda. As for the Syrian speech, the difference between this speech compared to other statements was that it went beyond the limits of the agenda. It discussed aspects of Romanian Party policy. But those remarks by Bagdash were excluded from the record. The entire meeting accepted the expunging of the Syrian remarks. In his statement, Niculescu-Mizil

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agreed that the remarks of Bagdash had been annulled; therefore, the Czech Party considered the incident closed. In any case, it was a bilateral affair between the CP of Syria and the CPR. The solution was favorable to the CPR; this is how such things are handled at international conferences.

The CPR decision not to participate was termed "regrettable" by Koucky. He stated that the other requests of the CPR were not a part of the rules of procedure of the meeting. However, if any other individual Party wanted to agree with the Romanians, that decision was up to them. However, the CPCZ could not agree with that. Koucky told the meeting that maximum responsibility and patience were demanded from all participants and especially from the Romanians. It was the view of the CPCZ that the meeting should continue so that it could arrive at a conclusion on the problems before it.

Erich Honecker of the SUPG stated that the previous day's proceedings had solved the problem. He charged that the discussions should not be disrupted by ultimatums which are unjustified. He also suggested that the meeting continue in order to consolidate the world communist movement against imperialism.

A delegate from the CP of Portugal reminded the meeting that they had gathered in a fraternal spirit to find ways to organize an international conference. Perhaps the Syrian criticism went beyond the agenda, but the apology closed the incident.

Gus Hall of the CP, USA then stated that the American delegation agreed with the solution of the previous day's incident. He said that it was agreed that no other Party would be read out of the movement or condemned. But considering the nature of the attacks by some Parties, this conference had been very restrained. However, now to apply a gag rule to individual speakers would be undemocratic and unusual. Hall stated that for some years some Parties had held a veto over some other Parties in the world. In Hall's opinion, the Romanian proposal was a veto on what sovereign Parties can or cannot say. That is an unusual request by any standards. No

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organization in the world could function by such undemocratic rules. He stated the opinion that the consensus of the conference not to condemn or criticize any Party was a restraint that would help create good conditions for the work of this meeting. The solution achieved on the previous day placed the success of this conference above all. Hall further stated he found it difficult to understand why the CPR had reversed its position and created a new problem. Hall appealed to the CPR to accept the conference consensus not to criticize or condemn other Parties and join in making this conference a success.

A Mongolian delegate stated his Party's agreement with the French and others who had spoken and its disagreement with the CPR. He called this a new demand after the incident had been solved the previous day. He termed the Romanian ultimatum "humiliating" and a method of forcing one's will upon others.

An Italian delegate stated that the previous day's incident was closed since the Syrian delegate had withdrawn the remarks. He agreed with the remarks of others on this subject and asked the CPR to accept the views of these other Parties.

Suslov of the CPSU then made the following remarks: He noted that there had been a free discussion for two days at the conference. He remarked that if the meeting would not make issues of minor incidents than all would be free to express themselves. The speech by Bagdash as well as the remarks by Niculescu-Mizil had gone a bit beyond the understanding. Bagdash apologized and the Consultative Meeting agreed that the speech by Bagdash went beyond the framework of the agenda. The previous day, after the remarks by Niculescu-Mizil and Bagdash, everyone had been satisfied. An international conference cannot be responsible for the remarks of all other Parties. Otherwise, this would be contrary to the democratic practice of international meetings. Suslov stated that the CPSU disliked the demand of the CPR. He noted that all Parties have the right to express their views. No collective group should force a view upon any Party. He said that the CPSU was sorry that the previous day's incidents had taken place but again another incident had been raised. He reiterated that

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each Party must bear its own responsibility.

Suslov continued that there had been some criticism of the Chinese CP leadership. This criticism was based on information in a letter in which the CPSU had been branded as traitors. Suslov asked whether it was not possible to answer such charges, such vile slanders. He asked should they pass a resolution that the CPSU cannot answer slander? He then stated that the CPSU could not accept the ultimatum of the CPR because this would violate all principles of democratic discussion. Suslov urged that the meeting agree to work out the important problems concerning the international conference in order to get on with the major task of achieving unity in the fight against imperialism. He stated that the conference should ignore secondary questions and continue its work.

A delegate from Haiti stated that the Romanians were hindering the meeting. He reiterated the right of all Parties to express themselves. He charged that the Romanian proposals would hinder the freedom of expression of all Parties.

A Bulgarian delegate stated that so far as Bulgaria was concerned, the incident was closed.

The CPs of Chile, Finland, Nicaragua, Canada, and Lebanon expressed their support of the position of the previous speakers and disagreed with the position of the CPR.

Niculescu-Mizil of the CPR stated that he disagreed with the statements that the CPR had delivered an ultimatum or was exercising veto power and he further disagreed with the suggestion that the primary principle of democracy had been violated by the Romanian proposals. He recalled that when the Romanians were invited to this meeting, they were guaranteed that there would be no criticism and no attacks upon other Parties. However, a number of Parties, including the CPR, had been attacked. Certain delegations had expressed disagreement with the demand of the CPR. Niculescu-Mizil stated that he did not recognize the right of anyone to attack the CPR. On the previous day, the CPR was attacked. In that case it was not just a bilateral attack because it took place at an international meeting and thus loses the nature of a bilateral assault. Such attacks are not "secondary" problems. Niculescu-Mizil stated this situation touched on the character of this

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meeting and future meetings. He said that the basic problem is whether the forthcoming international conference would have the right to pass judgment on other Parties.

Niculescu-Mizil stated that assaults had been made on the leadership of other Parties and groups including an attack on the CPR. The CPR does not approve of the right to attack other Parties at international meetings. He stated he was not talking about the expelling of any Party for no one has that right. This criticism of Parties, some of which were present and some of which were not, would not contribute to the strengthening of international unity. He said there was a need to re-initiate the atmosphere of faith to improve international contacts. He urged the meeting to declare its stand against such attacks. He upheld the Romanian opinion that this meeting must probe for a form that would show its disagreement with such attacks.

February 29, 1968  
Chairman - Oscar Astudillo  
Communist Party of Chile

Komocsin of the HSWP announced that at that time in another room the delegations of the CPR and the CP of Finland were preparing a motion to be placed before the meeting. In the meantime, the discussion would continue.

The next speaker was Demchigin Molomzhantz of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). In his speech he was critical of Mao Tse-tung of the CP of China and expressed the opinion of his Party in favor of a world conference to be held in Moscow, USSR.

The next speaker was from the CP of Turkey who also expressed his Party's support for the convening of a conference of all Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow.

The delegate from Honduras then spoke and also favored the convening of a world conference in November, 1968, in any socialist capital, preferably Moscow.

A delegate from Colombia then spoke and gave similar support to the convening of a world conference.

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Following these speeches, the meeting adjourned and reconvened at 7:00 p.m. at which time the beginning of the meeting was delayed until 8:00 p.m. in order to allow time for the continuation of negotiations with the Romanians.

When the meeting reassembled, Niculescu-Mizil took the floor. Niculescu-Mizil made a motion that in the minutes of the morning session of February 29, 1968, there be included the statement "that the delegations attending the Budapest meeting are sorry that the Syrian delegation criticized a fraternal Party, the Romanian CP. This does not coincide with the spirit of the meeting." Niculescu-Mizil continued that the delegation of Syria should address a communication of apology to the Romanian CP. Niculescu-Mizil added that the delegations should declare that within the framework of the meeting no fraternal Party should be assaulted and that in the discussion to be carried on in a friendly atmosphere in preparation for an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties each Party should bear the responsibility for its own speech.

Niculescu-Mizil stated that in the event this wording was accepted, the chairman of the session should declare that the delegations accepted with this that the incident was terminated. He noted that in his view this corresponded with the atmosphere of democracy.

A delegate from Finland stated that the CP of Finland repeated its proposal in an earlier session that the participants in the meeting express satisfaction on the occasion of the solution of the previous day's incident brought about by the Syrian remarks and that in a fraternal and friendly atmosphere the discussions continue. It was suggested that a statement be placed in the minutes that each Party is responsible for the discussion of its own delegates.

Support for the Finnish proposal was then expressed by the delegations from the following countries: France, Spain, Argentina, Uruguay, German Democratic Republic, Soviet Union, Peru, Costa Rica, South Africa, USA, West Germany, Bulgaria,

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Mongolia, Nepal and Great Britain.

A delegate from the CP of Italy stated that he wished to define his Party's position that every Party is responsible for its own statements. On this basis, he repeated that it was superfluous to continue to debate on the Syrian incident. It would have been better if all aspects had been taken into consideration before closing debate on this subject. Assurances were given to the Romanians from the rostrum that such incidents would not be repeated. The CP of Italy supported the proposal of the CP of Finland and joined in the appeal of the CP of Great Britain to the Romanian delegation to continue to work with the Consultative Meeting.

Following this, agreement with the proposal of the CP of Finland was expressed by the following delegations: Turkey, Bolivia, Mexico, Lebanon, Brazil, Algeria, Canada, Israel, Guatemala, Iran, Luxembourg, El Salvador, Austria, Australia, Switzerland, Tunisia, Belgium, Ecuador, Dominican Republic, Honduras, Portugal, Greece, Colombia, Northern Ireland, Denmark, Paraguay, Irish Workers Party, Poland, Morocco, San Marino, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Hungary, Venezuela, and Martinique.

The delegation from Cyprus was absent and the CP of Reunion stated that it did not want to become involved in such incidents.

Niculescu-Mizil then took the floor and stated as follows: The CPR decided to participate in the Consultative Meeting as was explained over the past several days. Their desire has been to find, with other Parties, the best way to contribute to the convening of an international conference, to engender a better atmosphere between brother Parties in order to understand each other better, and for the strengthening of the international workers' movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism under the banner of proletarian internationalism. At this meeting the Romanian CP was subjected to severe attack by a brother Party and another brother Party was also attacked. The Romanian CP declared that this means that the prior agreement was violated that at this Consultative Meeting there could be no debate or condemnation of even one Party. What took place

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at the Consultative Meeting was a violation of the basic democratic rules which should guide CPs.

This violation was crowned by the methods which were exhibited a few minutes before in the way in which the delegations were polled including those not even in the room. According to the CPR, the method of majority vote is an alien method to govern relations of Communist and Workers' Parties. Such a method is used to force something on other Parties. Such a method is not democratic. It has been used in the past and caused great harm to the unity of the world communist movement. This was proof that the old practice of condemning other Parties has not died.

The Romanian CP delegate rejected this practice and refused to recognize it. He charged that the methods and atmosphere at this meeting were in the spirit of the worsening of differences. He claimed that the Romanians had done everything to bring to an end the incident with the Syrians. He had tried to express the standpoint of the Romanian CP. During the recess, the Romanian delegation was working on a draft which they wanted to submit to the plenary session. They were informed by Finnish comrades that they had a proposal. Since the Romanians wanted agreement, they therefore worked with the Finns for a common draft. Together with the Finnish comrades they were able to draft a common proposal, which, shortly before they entered the room, was considered not a Romanian but a Finnish proposal. The Romanian delegation fully agreed with this proposal and submitted it to the meeting. The Romanian view was that all this showed that the Romanians desired that all should be done to find an acceptable solution to satisfy everyone. The Romanian delegate extended his thanks to the Finnish comrades but stated that through no fault of the Finns a situation had been reached that made the Romanian position impossible.

Niculescu-Mizil then announced that as of that moment the Romanian delegation was leaving the Consultative Meeting. He concluded by stating that the Romanian CP would like to improve its future relations with all CPs on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and on the basis of the independence of each Party. He stated the resolve

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of the Romanian CP that in the future it would try to promote the unity of the world communist and workers' movement, to fight against imperialism and for peace and socialism.

The delegate from the CP of Finland stated that as of that morning the Finnish delegation was of the opinion that there would not have to be any more discussion regarding this matter. During recess a discussion was held with the Romanians and it was found that they had received a separate text from Bucharest and therefore a compromise on their basis was impossible. After many debates and exchanges of words, a statement had been prepared but the statement was of such a character that in all probability the conference could not accept the statement. The Finnish delegate wished to make clear that during the talks of that evening the Romanian comrades did not present the Bucharest text but rather a compromise which was not the Finnish compromise and had condemned some Parties.

A delegate from Haiti stated that obviously the Romanian delegation would call a press conference and inform the press that they had walked out of the conference. Therefore, the conference should prepare a statement for the press. The CP of Canada agreed with this proposal and suggested that a subcommittee prepare a statement, following which the conference should reconvene and adopt the statement.

It was agreed that a communique would be drafted and the plenary session would reconvene to adopt it. The meeting reconvened at 1:15 a.m. on the morning of March 1, 1968, to discuss the wording of the communique, which was adopted and distributed to the press.

March 1, 1968  
Chairman - Arnolando Ferreto Segura  
People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

The first speaker was Vladimir Koucky of the CPCZ. In his preliminary remarks he regretted the departure of the delegation of the CPR but stated his disagreement with their leaving and their absence. He stated that the CPCZ reserved the right to answer in detail regarding the Romanian statements and behavior.

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Koucky stated that the world strategy of imperialism demands the unity of all revolutionary forces. This is not in contradiction to the sovereignty of each Party, but no single Party by itself can guarantee the defense of communism and itself. He voiced the opinion of the CPCZ that there is no need for a complicated arrangement among Parties to exchange their ideas. He voiced the support of the CPCZ for the convening of a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. He recommended the formation of a Preparatory Committee which should begin to work as a committee out of Budapest. He noted that this would not be a new headquarters of the world communist movement but rather just a temporary organization.

The CPCZ saw no need for an overall universal document as a result of the new international conference. Koucky suggested that the results of that meeting be summarized in a few resolutions. In his opinion, events change too rapidly for any other kind of document. The meeting should also result in concrete agreements between Parties to organize and coordinate their actions. The CPCZ favored inviting all Parties, even if they were not present at other world conferences. In addition, new Parties organized since 1960 should be invited.

The next speaker was Jack Woddiss from the CP of Great Britain. He stated that the now 66 Parties assembled in Budapest represented an important step toward achieving unity of the world communist movement. All are concerned about the situation in the world communist movement. On the subject of the agenda for an international conference, there are two views. First, some say the conference should concentrate upon the fight against imperialism. Second, some believe it should undertake wider discussion on many ideological questions and draw up a theoretical document, a universal document. The CP of Great Britain favored the first conception. Woddiss stated that the CP of Great Britain is utterly opposed to a conference dealing with ideological problems. The CP of Great Britain expressed opposition to any attempt to convene a conference to discuss differences in the world communist movement or a conference that would adopt a statement of ideological differences. A more important question, in the view of Great Britain, is how to do away with such differences. Such differences are not due merely to individuals but arise out of the real world and the growth of communism. Great Britain opposed any attack or even discussion of China.

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Woddis stated that the CP of Great Britain is against closed conferences. They should be open to the press, otherwise they create the impression that "we are a conspiracy." The British believe that the world communist movement has nothing to be afraid of and therefore should open the doors to the press, the sooner the better. The CP of Great Britain, at this stage, does not favor an overall document but rather a short appeal to unite the world communist movement against imperialism. The CP of Great Britain expressed its belief that the Preparatory Committee should be made up of all those present at the Budapest conference plus all those who want to participate, even if not present at Budapest. The CP of Great Britain favored the convening of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties at the end of 1968 and stated their readiness to consider Moscow as a suitable site.

March 1, 1968  
Chairman - Vladimir Koucky  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

At the outset of this session, Koucky announced that the message of solidarity from the Consultative Meeting to the people of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam expressing solidarity with their struggle had been delivered.

A delegate from Luxembourg then addressed the meeting and supported the convening of an international conference. It was stated that the owners of the biggest businesses in Luxembourg were U.S. monopolists who trample upon the laws of Luxembourg and do as they please. He stated that the Luxembourg Party favored the convening of the international meeting during 1968 and favored Moscow as the site.

The next speaker was from Northern Ireland who quoted from the resolution of the 13th Congress of the CP of Northern Ireland to the effect that the current world situation cries out for such an international meeting. Therefore, he announced that the CP of Northern Ireland supported the convening of a meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties but desired a separate meeting be held of anti-imperialists in general.

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The next speaker was Luis Carlos Prestes of the Brazilian CP. He stated that the 6th Congress of the CP of Brazil which was held in December, 1967, had agreed unanimously to the holding of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in order to fight imperialism. He commented upon some of the serious difficulties being encountered in Brazil and then noted that the 1960 Moscow meeting of 81 Parties had worked out basic perspectives. But in the current situation, anti-imperialist consciousness is much greater. New social forces have arrived on the scene ready to fight imperialism and first of all against North American imperialism. In his view, even in the U.S. the struggles against imperialism are growing.

Prestes remarked upon the repressions of the military dictatorship in Brazil which he called a naked tool of imperialist monopolies and noted that the U.S. monopolies are responsible for the decreasing relative income of the people of Brazil. He stated that U.S. defeats in Vietnam had stimulated hopes for the ultimate defeat of imperialist designs in Brazil, but the U.S. is attempting to undermine the communist movement from within by the use of some petty bourgeois groups with radical slogans. This has demonstrated the need for unity for anti-imperialist forces and revolutionary forces. This is the main prerequisite for the defeat of imperialism.

Prestes called for the convening of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which should analyze and define the tasks and tactics of the world communist movement.

The next speaker was from the Irish Workers' Party who also expressed support for a world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The delegate from the Portuguese CP expressed the belief that the call for the Consultative Meeting had not been handled properly. His Party favored a world meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties to be held in one year, after the unity of the communist movement had been cemented. He also stated that the Portuguese CP had no objection to attendance at such a meeting by split-offs from other Parties if these groups and Parties agree among themselves on the questions to be determined by such a conference.

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Chairman - Ib Norlund  
Communist Party of Denmark

Speakers from the delegations of El Salvador and Lebanon spoke in favor of an international conference. The speaker representing the Party of People's Unity of Haiti stated that he wept for the communists of China, Cuba, Korea, and Romania. He stated that there would never be unity in the world communist movement without them.

March 2, 1968  
Chairman - Representative of the  
Communist Party of South Africa

The first speaker was from the CP of Uruguay. He stated that the Consultative Meeting was a positive stage in the unity of the world communist movement. Whereas the enemies of communism have emphasized the international aspects of the struggle, communists of the world need coordination and solidarity to fight imperialism. Since the enemy has an international strategy, communists also must respond. He called Che Guevara a symbol of Uruguay's internationalism. He stated that Yankee imperialism is a most cynical oppressor. He cautioned that the diversity within the world communist movement compels communists to advance with tact and patience. He demanded that equality of Parties must be an inviolate principle. According to the speaker, the CP of Uruguay agreed to an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties provided it was most carefully prepared and allowed the widest possible representation.

The speaker from the CP of Italy stated that most Parties came to Budapest but it must not be forgotten that some important Parties were absent. The CP of China was not there because of a deep divergence which has existed for a number of years. They refused to come to this Consultative Meeting and, realistically speaking, the CP of China cannot be expected to come to any international meeting for a number of years. However, this group should not postpone its own meeting or tasks because of that fact.

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He stated that some other Parties were also absent but this was not due to any rift. Friendly relations should be retained with such Parties. It should be hoped that their doubts will fade in the time to come. However, neither should this stop this group from organizing an international conference nor should it cause doubt as to its timeliness. All present should do all they can to persuade these other Parties to join in this conference and such a thought is valid in reference to the Chinese also.

In regard to the Romanian CP, the Italian delegate stated the attack on the Romanians was not necessary but the CP of Italy regrets that the Romanians left. Furthermore, the meeting was correct not to adopt a collective opinion of censure of the CP of Syria. As for the CP of Italy, it shall nevertheless continue its cooperation with the Romanian CP as well as with other Parties. He noted that they should not try to solve all the problems of the world communist movement at the world conference. Rather, efforts should be made to solve the problems of economic reform or the effort and contradictions in the democratic development in various countries. Even on general strategy there are diverse approaches and, therefore, the meeting should continue discussions, bilateral and multilateral, as a part of the process of consultation.

The Italian speaker charged that U.S. imperialist policy is global and acts as a gendarme of reaction trying to stop liberation movements and to impose its political and economic policies on the world. The movement must not resort to false optimism or pessimism. It must be remembered that reactionary regimes have been restored in Greece, Indonesia, Brazil, and in some African countries. But it must also be remembered that imperialism is also in a crisis and in severe crises in some countries. The U.S. has continued to place its greatest effort in Vietnam, not merely to conquer Vietnam but to hold the entire Southeast Asia. But the people of North and South Vietnam have faced the powerful U.S. imperialist machine and imposed defeats upon them. The Soviet Union and other fraternal Parties of the West are turning against the U.S. on the subject of the bombing of Vietnam. Even the Government of Italy is considering a re-evaluation of its relations with the U.S. They want less dependence upon the U.S.

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According to this speaker, U.S. imperialism is at the crossroads. Its ruling circles have not yet returned to a realistic policy. These dominant circles have proposed genocide. But the CPSU and other socialist countries have been growing in prestige as representatives of peace. Liberation movements have appeared in various forms and have been growing. In capitalist countries there can be discerned new symptoms of involvement as a result of the work of CPs. At the same time splits and a certain narrowness have appeared in some CPs. But the unity of the world communist movement has thwarted the plans of imperialism. The world communist movement must fight for a peaceful era and for peaceful coexistence. This is not a passive tactic but rather a militant policy to halt a nuclear catastrophe. The Italian speaker stated that the main, immediate task is to get the U.S. to adopt a rational policy. But a lot depends on joint initiatives of CPs and others to achieve a wider unity.

Nevertheless, the Italian speaker cautioned, the world communist movement cannot be put back in the old frame of organization where it was directed from one center. He noted that the principles of internationalism and separatism or independence of Parties do not constitute a contradiction. If one or the other is neglected, negative effects result. The CP of Italy has been working out its own strategy and tactics.

The Italian delegate stated that new organizations and movements are coming into being which although not communist will work with communists. He urged the world communist movement to take a broader view of this development. In his opinion, the participation of non-revolutionary, non-communist groups would broaden the conference. He stated that the CP of Italy agreed that a world conference should be held in 1968. His Party also agreed that a Preparatory Committee should be organized which would be open to all Parties. Furthermore, the CP of Italy did not believe that a new document on the order of the 1960 Statement is necessary at this time. For the present, the materials of the conference should be collected and the last phase would include the drafting of a document. The Italian delegate concluded by stating that the world press should be allowed into the world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

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The next speaker was from the CP of Greece who stated that his Party was in favor of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The next speaker was from the Guatemalan Party of Labor. He pointed to the example of the Tri-Continental Conference in Havana, Cuba, as an example of the manner in which preparations should be made for a conference. He noted that this conference had attracted all anti-imperialist forces from the continents involved. He said that the aim in Guatemala is to achieve unity and thereby carry on a revolutionary war. A revolutionary army has been established in Guatemala, but a rift and discussions in the ranks of the Guatemalan Party during the last few months have weakened them.

According to the Guatemalan speaker, there have been brutal repressions in that country, which are now worse than ever. This terror is being guided by U.S. advisors. They use the cruelest forms of torture, beheading people, strangling them, torturing them with needles, and applying these tortures to the children and the elderly. The Guatemalan people continue to endure these sufferings, but the U.S. counter-revolutionary terror and torture will not break them down. The dignity of the Guatemalan people will not be broken. He expressed the gratitude of his Party for the material assistance which has been received from brother Parties.

The Guatemalan delegate stated that every effort should be made to obtain attendance at an international conference from Africa and Asia. He agreed with the principle that there should be no excommunication of Parties from the world communist movement. He expressed the support of the Guatemalan Party of Labor for an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties to be held in November or December, 1968, in Moscow, USSR. The one issue which should be the subject of the conference should be a broad fight against imperialism.

The next speaker was Komocsin of the HSWP. He stated that he was submitting the views of the Central Committee of the HSWP and hoped that the delegates would give these views

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consideration. The HSWP is convinced that bilateral and multilateral meetings are fruitful for the exchange of views. He noted that the proposals of the HSWP should not be considered the only proposals before this meeting and that the HSWP will agree to other proposals if they should be better than those of the HSWP.

The Ninth Congress of the HSWP resolved in favor of a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. It favored unity of action at once in the struggle against imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. He expressed his Party's agreement with the principle that all Parties are equal and, in this regard, cautioned that there should be no "confrontation" because there can be no profit from a tactic of "anti-Sovietism." He remarked that the 1960 Declaration should not be repudiated, although some things in the Declaration are no longer valid due to the passage of time and change in circumstance.

Komocsin then set forth the following proposals relative to the convening of a world conference: 1) The appeal to attend the world conference should be addressed to all Parties. 2) The international conference should include on its agenda the rallying of all progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism. 3) The international conference should take place by the end of 1968. 4) The international conference should be held in Moscow. 5) Preparations for the conference should proceed in a democratic manner and all Communist and Workers' Parties should be given the opportunity to participate. 6) A Preparatory Committee should be established.

Komocsin stated the belief of the HSWP that the fraternal Parties cannot say that they are making "haste" in moving for a conference by the end of 1968. There is yet three quarters of the year left to prepare. It would be politically harmful to the world movement to delay the conference for too long. A declaration of a political character on the joint position of the fraternal Parties should be worked out in order to rally the anti-imperialist forces. Furthermore, in addition, there should be a declaration of solidarity with Vietnam and a peace proclamation.

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In keeping with the principle of sovereignty of Parties, there should be no attacks or exclusions of any Party. But it is the right of all individual Parties to take a stand on ideology and line and to do so publicly. No Party can tell another what to say or not to say. This is not interference in the life of any Party. A principled expression of opinion is not interference. The HSWP keeps to this principle but at the same time likes to hear what other Parties have to say, even principled criticism. But only the governing bodies of the HSWP have the right to make decisions.

The HSWP believes that a world conference is needed and that all Communist and Workers' Parties should be invited. The HSWP and all Parties should try to obtain the consent of the Parties existing in 88 countries to participate in the international conference. At the same time, if the world communist movement rigidly insisted that all Parties must participate, then such a meeting could never take place because that is an unattainable goal. Therefore, the HSWP proposed that the effort should be to obtain maximum representation and let all Parties decide for themselves to attend or not to attend.

In regard to the question of the convening of a broad anti-imperialist conference, it is the position of the HSWP that the Communist and Workers' Parties must first get together themselves and then meet with their allies in the anti-imperialist struggle. History has proved that only Marxist-Leninist Parties themselves can work out the line for international unity. The international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties itself could investigate the idea of whether it would be useful to convene a world conference of all anti-imperialist forces at some later date. For itself, the HSWP expressed the belief that it would be even more useful to convene a world conference on solidarity with the people of Vietnam.

The HSWP opposed the idea that the international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties should have observers in attendance, except in such cases where some

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Parties are illegal, in which case they can be "observers," and in this way reduce the possibilities of persecution in their own countries. But, observers from other fraternal Parties could only lead to trouble.

The HSWP expressed its support for the holding of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1968, in Moscow, USSR. The HSWP appealed to all Communist and Workers' Parties to share in the preparatory work and to participate in the international conference.

The next speaker was William Kashtan of the CP of Canada. He expressed the support of his Party for an international conference before the end of 1968 for the purpose of solidifying the struggle against U.S. imperialism. He, too, supported the principle that all Parties should be invited to this conference.

March 2, 1968  
Chairman - Representative of the  
Communist Party of Ecuador

The speaker from the CP of Denmark expressed the agreement of his Party for a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. He also took the occasion to criticize the tactics engaged in by the Romanian CP.

The next speakers, representing the CP of Algeria and the CP of Mexico, expressed their support for a world conference.

The next speaker was from the CP of Argentina. He stated that if this Consultative Meeting could fix a date for a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties, this would constitute a new and higher step in the relations between Parties. He pointed to the constant danger of an invasion of Cuba by the U.S. and charged that the U.S. is interfering everywhere in Latin America. It is not unusual for the U.S. to overthrow a government that does not show cringing obedience to Wall Street. Insofar as Argentina is concerned, it suffers under a fascist, military dictatorship. Unity is necessary to fight against these dangers from U.S. imperialism. Therefore,

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the CP of Argentina favored a meeting in Moscow before the end of 1968. The CP of Argentina favored inviting all Parties but at the same time it reserved the right to debate or discuss any problem coming before the conference.

March 2, 1968  
Chairman - Representative of the  
Communist Party of Northern Ireland

During this session speakers from the CP of Sudan, the Swiss Party of Labor, and the CP of Martinique expressed their agreement with the need for a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties to be held before the end of 1968 in Moscow, USSR.

No sessions of the Consultative Meeting were held on Sunday, March 3, 1968.

March 4, 1968  
Chairman - Anna Liisa Hyvonen  
Communist Party of Finland

The proposal was made that the Secretariat prepare a closing communique. A motion was made by the CP of Ceylon that while the debate continues, the Secretariat should prepare a document setting forth a time and place for the international conference as well as a proposal as to who should be invited to participate in the preparations and to attend the international conference.

The CP of Great Britain advanced a similar proposal as did the CP of Finland. Therefore, a drafting committee for such a closing communique was set up composed of delegates from the following countries: the USA, Australia, Chile, South Africa, France, India, Great Britain, Poland, Hungary, West Germany, Italy, Spain, the Soviet Union, and the Sudan. It was proposed that this committee be headed by the representative from the Polish United Workers' Party and that this committee start work immediately after the morning session. There followed a discussion concerning the composition of the drafting committee. Proposed additions to the committee were for delegates from Argentina and Iraq. This composition of the committee was approved.

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The delegate from the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica then spoke and expressed the support of that Party for an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties to be held in Moscow, USSR. The delegate from the CP of Morocco proposed that all Parties, including non-CPs, be invited from all countries to participate in the conference.

The speaker for the CP of Australia also favored the holding of an international conference. He suggested that the objective be limited at this stage. He suggested that there be no ideological reviews and that decisions should be avoided that would widen the differences among Parties. He asked that even if the Chinese attack the holding of such a conference, that the participants not widen the breach. He stated that although the CP of Australia had been attacked by the CP of China and has the credentials to prove a good fight against the Chinese, the CP of Australia favored an approach that would not widen the differences.

The speaker from the CP of Jordan attacked U.S. imperialism and also its Zionist tools. He supported the idea of an international conference to be held in Moscow, USSR, and favored inviting all Parties. Subjects on the agenda should be unity of the world communist movement and the anti-imperialist struggle.

The Tunisian CP delegate expressed support for an international conference in Moscow to which should be invited all CPs.

The speaker from the CP of Reunion noted that a conference is not a panacea for all ills and divergencies in the world communist movement. He stated that the Parties had not gathered to fix the blame or explain the basis of disunity in the world communist movement, noting that there were six socialist countries represented at the Consultative Meeting but that China, Korea, Vietnam, and Albania were absent. He remarked that this situation made unity very difficult. He urged that an international conference should

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pose no general questions and make no evaluation of any other Parties. There should be one question only and that should be the international fight against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

March 4, 1968  
Chairman - Raymond Guyot  
Communist Party of France

Shripad Amrit Dange of the CP of India was the first speaker at this session. He stated that the last Congress of the CP of India had taken place but ten days before the beginning of this Consultative Meeting and that the spirit and aims of the Indian Congress had been the same as those evident at this meeting. The CP of India supported the convening of an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties as speedily as possible. It was the view of the CP of India that documents like those prepared in 1957 and 1960 should issue from such a conference. This would entail a revision and re-evaluation of the former documents. For example, the attack on Yugoslavia should be stricken. At the same time, the Moscow Statement of 1960 should not be totally scrapped.

Dange stated that the CP of India would accept criticism but not interference by any other Party, nor would the CP of India deal with split-off Parties. Dange stated that periodic conferences of the world communist movement are necessary. He, therefore, agreed with the need for an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and urged that it be held in Moscow.

The next speaker was from the CP of Nepal who attacked the Chinese for intervening in the affairs of the CP of Nepal. He stated that more is needed than a document merely calling for a united front. What is needed is a document that explains the situation in the present world from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. He agreed that an international conference should be held and that the site should be in Moscow in November, 1968.

March 4, 1968  
Chairman - Representative of the  
Communist Party of Greece

The first speaker was from the CP of San Marino who attacked U.S. imperialism and supported the concept of an

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international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties. He was followed by a speaker from the CP of Guadeloupe who complained about Cuban interference in the affairs of his Party. In addition, he complained about U.S. imperialist interference in the Caribbean and in Vietnam. He concluded by agreeing to an international conference.

The next speaker was from the Socialist Party of Nicaragua who expressed support of a meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow to expose the anti-Soviet slanders of the CP of China and their allies.

The next speaker was from the CP of Israel who took this occasion to defend the position of his Party against criticisms contained in the statements by the delegation from the CPR. He stated that he would not have raised the question of the Mikunis-Sneh group in the CP of Israel if the Romanian delegation had not proposed to seat this group at this meeting. According to the Israeli speaker, the Mikunis-Sneh group went over into the enemy camp. He then turned his attention to the Arab-Israeli war of June, 1967, and stated that it is clear that this was a plot by L. B. Johnson and Levi Eshkol with the help of Great Britain and the West German imperialists to overthrow the progressive, anti-imperialist Arab governments. In answer to charges previously made by the Romanian delegation, he stated that when the CP of Israel espoused peaceful coexistence, it did not imply that imperialism had changed its character nor that imperialism had become less ferocious. He concluded by expressing the support of his Party for a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties before the end of 1968 in Moscow, USSR.

March 4, 1968  
Chairman - Representative of the  
Communist Party of Guadeloupe

The representative of the CP of Belgium also expressed support of that Party for a world conference. The speaker from the CP of Bolivia did likewise and stated further that the conference should be held before the end of 1968. The Bolivian

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delegate took issue with the CP of Cuba and stated that the Bolivians do not accept the view of Cuba that armed struggle is the only path to socialism. He expressed regret and deep sorrow that Ernesto "Che" Guevara and a number of his good comrades had been murdered by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He remarked that for months the CP of Bolivia did not even know that Guevara was in Bolivia.

The next speaker was from the Dominican CP. He stated that the international communist movement was in the midst of its gravest crisis. Marxism-Leninism was not in crisis; rather, the old methods were in crisis because these methods were outdated. He expressed support for a world conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and noted that although the Moscow Statement of 1960 was, to a large degree, still valid, a new document was necessary.

The speaker from the People's Party of Panama denounced the use of anti-Sovietism both by those outside and by those inside the world communist movement. He urged concentration on means to unite the world communist movement even if no total unanimity could be achieved.

March 5, 1968  
Chairman - Representative from the  
Guatemalan Party of Labor

The speaker from the CP of Venezuela then noted that the era of unanimity has passed and that era was actually a sign of immaturity. Now, the world communist movement must look for cohesion, equality of rights and autonomy of each CP. He stated it is the duty of each Party to work out its own policy, even if it profits by the experience of others. Only the Party leadership of each given Party can make decisions affecting that Party. He complained that the CP of Venezuela was a victim of the imposition by another Party of a flagrant violation of its autonomy. Clearly referring to the CP of Cuba, he continued that the CP of Venezuela bears no hostility toward the Cuban revolution since it is the chief object of U.S. imperialist aggression. He stated that the recent Plenum of the CP of Venezuela had resolved that the CP of Venezuela

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should not be involved in polemics with any other Parties. Therefore, while favoring a meeting of all Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow, he stated the conviction of the CP of Venezuela that such a meeting should have limited aims and should concentrate on the struggle against imperialism. Such a conference should be slowly but harmoniously prepared and the Preparatory Committee should be given powers to start its work and try to involve many more Parties than were represented at the Consultative Meeting.

A speaker from the CP of Peru attacked those who make no distinction between a CP and "any revolutionary group." He fully supported the convening of an international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The speaker from the CP of Paraguay expressed favor for closer ties between CPs and a stronger attitude of internationalism among all Parties. He stated that talk of "independence" of Parties is injurious to communism. He stated that "continentalism" and "regionism" are not the same as internationalism. He expressed support of an international conference of world Parties which should deal with only one issue: to unite to fight imperialism. The CP of Paraguay favored inviting the Yugoslav League of Communists but disagreed with the idea of inviting split-off Parties.

The speaker from the Iraqi CP stated that the Iraqi delegation had come to Budapest to help organize an international meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties and favored Moscow as the site. He said that such a meeting would be a challenge to imperialists and nationalists. He favored the preparation of a new document to be issued by such a world meeting and this document should include an attack upon Maoism and its theories.

Komocsin of the HSWP announced that the Editorial Committee had finished its work on the draft of a communique which was then in the process of being mimeographed. Upon completion of the reproducing of this communique, it would be brought before the plenary session for discussion.

~~SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY,  
FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 5, 1968

~~SECRET~~

At the beginning of the session on March 5, 1968, to discuss the draft of the communique, Mikhail A. Suslov of the CPSU arose to make a few remarks on behalf of the CPSU. He stated that the Central Committee of the CPSU had been informed of the will of the Consultative Meeting that the conference be convened in Moscow, USSR. The Central Committee of the CPSU had replied that it extended its thanks for the confidence expressed in the CPSU and stated that all Parties would be asked to participate in such a conference in the USSR.

Komocsin then announced that the draft of the communique had been reproduced and they were ready to discuss it.

Gus Hall of the CP, USA then stated that all present had traveled on the road to unity and that all present had contributed to the success of this conference. He extended special thanks to the HSWP which had acted as the "political midwife in the birth of this success." He stated that all agreed that Komocsin had done an outstanding job. He further announced that he had been appointed to present to Komocsin a token pen to sign all the documents of this meeting.

Komocsin accepted with thanks and stated, however, that this meeting had been implemented by the Central Committee of the HSWP and hundreds of activists. He stated that the Central Committee and every member of the HSWP accepted this honor as internationalists. It was then proposed that the conference finish its work and approve the list of Parties to be invited to the international meeting.

A Haitian asked who would be invited from Indonesia. He also asked about the Yugoslav League of Communists, Nigeria, New Zealand, and Senegal. The Italian delegate then suggested that this question be referred to the Preparatory Committee and a Dominican delegate agreed with the Italian. Komocsin stated that the previous Autumn there had been no Indonesian Party, only factions or groupings. However, with the passage of time, perhaps a united group had been formed. He suggested that Indonesia be accepted on the list. This was agreed to.

~~SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY,  
FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 5, 1968

~~SECRET~~

The next order of business before the Consultative Meeting was the report from the Drafting Committee for the communique. Komocsin stated that the committee had accepted the document unanimously. He proposed that the plenary session proceed to a discussion of the communique.

Zenon Kliszko of the PUWP, the chairman of the Drafting Committee, stated that the communique as formulated had been handed to the 66 Parties attending the meeting. He stated that the committee had worked for many hours on this communique and that the debates went on in the spirit of full democracy and freedom. There had been a genuine effort at mutual understanding and unity. In his view, the draft represented the thinking of the Consultative Meeting. They had reached unanimity without giving up basic assumptions of each Party and had arrived at the common decision as set forth in the draft. There had been no defeats or victories for any particular Party. Sometimes they worked like one family, sometimes they fought. He stated there were no details in the communique but only the general view of the Consultative Meeting.

Komocsin expressed the thanks of the entire Consultative Meeting to the chairman and the entire Drafting Committee.

A discussion followed of the details of the communique. Various objections were noted.

An insertion was made in the minutes of the Consultative Meeting, noting the comments of the CP of Canada that the Preparatory Committee should propose a date for the international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties and all Parties should be informed of that date by September 15, 1968. The CP of Canada also proposed that all documents prepared for discussion at the international conference should be in the hands of all Parties by September 15, 1968.

The communique was voted upon and accepted by all Parties attending the Consultative Meeting except the CP of Reunion. The CP of Reunion pledged support of the world conference but abstained from voting because of objections to certain portions of paragraphs three and five.

~~SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY,  
FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 5, 1968

~~SECRET~~

After acceptance of the communique, the meeting dissolved with the agreement that the Preparatory Committee to prepare for the international conference would convene on April 24, 1968, in Budapest, Hungary. The text of the closing communique is set forth below:

Communique

of the Consultative Meeting of the  
Communist and Workers' Parties

A Consultative Meeting of representatives of the (there follows a list of participating Parties with the exception of the Romanian CP) took place in Budapest from February 26 to March 5, 1968. The representatives of the United Socialist Party of Iceland and of the CP of Norway participated at the Consultative Meeting as observers.

In an atmosphere of free and comradely discussion, the participants in the Consultative Meeting exchanged views on the question of convening and preparing for an international conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties. After a comprehensive discussion they agreed to convene a conference in November or December, 1968, in Moscow.

The Consultative Meeting proceeded from the assumption that the objective of the conference is to promote the unity of the Communist movement and to help strengthen the cohesion of all the forces of socialism and democracy in the struggle against imperialism, for the national and social emancipation of the peoples and for world peace. After discussing the proposals for the agenda of a future conference, the Meeting came to the conclusion that there should be one main item on

~~SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY,  
FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 5, 1968

~~SECRET~~

the agenda: "The tasks of our struggle against imperialism in the present stage, and united action of Communist and Workers' Parties, and of all anti-imperialist forces."

According to the unanimous opinion of the participants at the Meeting, the preparations for the Conference should be carried on with due regard to the principles of collective work and comradely cooperation, and with the equal right of all Communist and Workers' Parties to take part in the preparations and in the deliberations of the conference. For the period of the preparation of the conference the participants in the Consultative Meeting agreed to set up a commission consisting of representatives of all Communist and Workers' Parties that wished to take part in it. The Preparatory Commission was instructed to consider and sum up all the proposals of the fraternal parties and all other materials on questions relating to the Conference, to draft the documents, and to submit all these to the Conference. The commission will also maintain contact with the fraternal parties on these questions. This approach will make it possible to take into the maximum account all the opinions and constructive suggestions of the fraternal parties, and to prepare the International Conference in a collective manner. The seat of the commission will be Budapest. The Consultative Meeting considered it necessary to convene the session of the Preparatory Commission to meet on the 24th April 1968, and requests the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to convene this meeting.

The participants in the Meeting were deeply convinced that the forthcoming conference will accord with the interests of every Communist Party

~~SECRET~~

CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY,  
FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 5, 1968

~~SECRET~~

and of the world communist movement as a whole,  
and with the interests of the unity of all forces  
fighting against imperialism.

The Consultative Meeting calls on all Communist and Workers' Parties, including those that for one reason or another, have not attended the Budapest Meeting, to take part in the forthcoming conference. It invites them to join in the preparatory work as full-fledged participants.

The participants in the Meeting unanimously approved a solidarity message to the people of Vietnam expressing the admiration of all communists for their heroic struggle, and assuring them that the assistance which the socialist countries and all the working people of the world are rendering to fighting Vietnam will grow until the United States aggressors are driven completely from Vietnamese soil.

The delegations which attended the Budapest Meeting were convinced that the forthcoming international conference of Communist and Workers' Parties will constitute an important stage on the road to the cohesion of the communists of the whole world on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and be a big step towards further uniting all anti-imperialist forces.

~~SECRET~~



CONSULTATIVE MEETING OF COMMUNIST AND  
WORKERS' PARTIES, BUDAPEST, HUNGARY,  
FEBRUARY 26 TO MARCH 5, 1968

~~SECRET~~

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

1. Cited as "part of a solar system of international Communist-front organizations which have been established in recent years\* \* \*." "American supporters include the left-wing unions within the Congress of Industrial Organizations."

(Committee on Un-American Activities, House Report 1953 on the Congress of American Women, April 26, 1950, originally released October 23, 1949, p. 1.)

2. Cited as "Communist-dominated."

(Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, Handbook for Americans, S. Doc. 117, April 23, 1956, p. 93, also p. 59.)

~~SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637 Sub C)

4/30/68

Director, FBI (100-423091) *6905*

1 - Mr. M. J. Rozamus  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

*EX-116*  
**REC-9**  
SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C  
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)

Reurlet 4/23/68.

Authority is granted to bring the background investigation of [ ] up to date for the purpose of determining the suitability of re-operating [ ] in connection with captioned program. Closely follow the instructions set out in Section 107, Manual of Instructions. Promptly advise the Bureau of the results of your investigation and furnish your observations and recommendations relative to re-operating [ ]

b7D

WGS:cst  
(5) *cst*

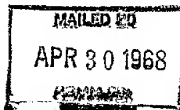
**NOTE:**

*Rem* [ ] who was active in CP affairs during the late 1930's, was made a PSI in 6/51, but was discontinued in 1/52 when he was unable to reaffiliate with the CP. In 1/60, he was recruited into the CP and was made a security informant in 8/60. However, his employment and health did not permit him to engage extensively in CP activity and as a result he was discontinued as an informant in 11/62. Previous weaknesses include fact he was adjudged bankrupt in 1952 and a World War II neuro-psychiatric examination diagnosis indicated "anxiety state, moderate." No treatment was recommended as it was indicated he was suffering from prolonged overseas service. [ ] is currently employed as [ ] and has the [ ]

b7D

[ ] so attractive to development in the Solo program. He was completely cooperative when contacted on 3/28/68, and indicated he is currently in satisfactory physical condition.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



6 MAY 1 1968

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637 Sub C)

SUBJECT : SOLO  
(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)  
IS-C

DATE: 4/23/68

[redacted] former [redacted] was interviewed on 3/28/68 by Supervisor THORNTON M. WOOD and SA [redacted]. [redacted] was contacted because he possesses those qualities which make him especially well-fitted for use in captioned program generally, and in the operation of a CP cover company in particular. He is a [redacted] and has successfully operated a small business.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] was discontinued as a Bureau informant in 1962 basically because of a heart condition he contracted in 1961. He stated when interviewed on 3/28/68 that the heart condition no longer causes him any concern so long as he follows his doctors advice (moderately). He appears to be in good physical condition. He works every day.

During the course of the interview [redacted] stated that he is willing to assist the Government and should the Bureau need his services he stands ready, willing and able to serve depending of course upon his employment schedule and available time. He is currently employed as [redacted] for a General Tire Company dealer in [redacted]. He resides in the [redacted] New York at [redacted] but is considering a move to [redacted] because of his wife's health - she recently suffered a mild heart attack and since she works every day, [redacted] feels that moving to the city would lessen the physical strains attached to her daily commutation.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] has that [redacted] so attractive to informant personalities presently involved in the SOLO Program. A [redacted] "New Yorker" he is acquainted with CP personalities who can, if properly handled, provide him with access to avenues among the CP hierarchy which could lead him to eventual utilization in the SOLO Program.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- 3-Bureau (RM) 1-704, 9-20  
1-New York [redacted] (41)  
1-New York [redacted]  
RJQ:jca  
(5)

[EX-116] 14 APR 30 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



5010-108

Let to SAC, NY  
WBS: cat  
4/30/68

B/om  
R. C. [redacted] 7

R

100-428091-6905  
6/10/68

b7D

NY 100-134637 Sub C

Bureau authority therefore is requested to re-activate [redacted] If granted, appropriate up-dating of his background investigation will be conducted prior to a request to actually begin re-operating the informant.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 4/26/68

On April 26, 1968, there was received at a Solo drop address in the name of NORMA HANSEL, Post Office Box 7363, Chicago, Illinois 60680, a letter from CG 5824-S\*, postmarked April 20, 1968, at Prague, Czechoslovakia. The letter which was dated April 20, 1968, reads as follows:

Just a few words to let you know that I am still on tour. I saw Mildred and her husband and as usual were very glad to meet old friends.

I talked to Milwaukee and was assured that all the children will be moved by May 1 as the woman care taker requested. But the biggest surprise of all was to find Mr. Dandy still there. He told me that the Peoria office would not allow him to go near there, that the territory is theirs, etc. etc. and is for other drummers. He is still planning to go in a roundabout way to Southern Illinois and see his uncle even if he cannot do any business in the Peoria territory.

I wish I had more news except about spring fever and restless salesmen. Most that I spoke would like the seminars on European purchasing power to be brief. But at the same time they cannot influence the time schedule. Who wants to listen to lectures in a hotel room when it is so beautiful outdoors. Well I'll close, for all I wanted to do is tell you I am still on the go. With all my best

/S/ (CG 5824-S\*)

In the above letter, the reference to "Mildred and her husband" is believed to refer to FRANTISEK KOPTA, a representative of the International Department, Central Committee, CP of Czechoslovakia, and his wife.

- ②-Bureau (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

WAB:MDW

(4)



98 MAY 75 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REC-40  
115

100-428091-694

4 MAY 1 1968

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S\* stated that he had telephonically contacted Moscow and had been assured that the visas for the May Day delegation and the delegation to the German Democratic Republic would be issued in time as requested by HELEN WINTER, Secretary of the Organization Commission of the CP, USA.

CG 5824-S\* advised that he was surprised to find JAMES JACKSON, Chairman of the International Affairs Department of the CP, USA, still in Moscow since JACKSON was to have arrived in Hanoi, North Vietnam, on April 15, 1968. JACKSON told CG 5824-S\* that the People's Republic of China would not allow him to pass through Peking on the way to Hanoi. Thus, JACKSON is planning to travel via India to reach Hanoi.

CG 5824-S\* stated that the representatives from various CPs to the meeting of the Preparatory Commission for an International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties are somewhat impatient and would like to see the meeting completed in a brief span of time.

Otherwise, CG 5824-S\* merely wished to advise that he is still well and proceeding to Budapest, Hungary, for the meeting of the Preparatory Commission.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 4/24/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO (REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)  
TS - C

ReBulet, 3/14/68.

b7D

In preparation for the contact with [redacted] he was observed several times at his place of employment at the [redacted] New York City and it was determined that he is engaged in semi-manual labor. He [redacted] of this [redacted] establishment waiting on customers and [redacted] He is a small, agile, active individual employing a somewhat [redacted] It was felt that the interview would have to be opened with a startling question or statement to make him stop and think instead of just brushing aside a soft, polite approach.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

SAS JOHN A. HAAG and [redacted] on 4/18/68 observed [redacted] leave his employment and walk across Third Avenue toward a newspaper store. While SA [redacted] observed, SA HAAG approached him and the following transpired:

HAAG: "Hey [redacted] if the Russians ever contact you, would you tell me about it?"

[redacted] "(Startled). Sure".

HAAG: "You know who I am, don't you?"

[redacted] "Sure".

HAAG: "I'm FBI".

b7D

- 1 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - New York

JAH:rmp  
(3)

REC-40

EX-115

3 MAY 1 1968



9 MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637

[redacted] "Yeah, yeah - (stopping), but they wouldn't contact me. I've had nothing to do with the Party for fifteen years. Why me?"

HAAG: "Look, you've got everything they want:

"One - You were a member for a hell of a long time - 25 years.

"Two - You made a lot of sacrifices for them. How about the [redacted]

b7D

"Three - You quit the Party [redacted] you [redacted] on them. You gave them no grief - they trust you, I'm sure."

[redacted] "If they contacted me, they'd be crazy."

HAAG: "Wait a minute [redacted] you were a good CP member and you left them with no trouble. You can't tell me they don't remember that."

[redacted] "You're right. I just left. I never said anything. I'll never spit on my past. Never. I [redacted] I worked hard for them for 25 years. Sure I made sacrifices, starved. I believed what I was doing was right. I believed that in my heart. I thought their way was the best way. I really believed that. I was wrong and so I just quit. I've had nothing to do with them since about 1955. But I won't spit on my past. I believed that what I was doing for the Party was right. But I have nothing to do with them anymore. I [redacted] with [redacted] maybe you know this - [redacted] and [redacted] That's all."

b7D



NY 100-134637

HAAG: "I don't know [ ] and I don't want to know - about them or you. You made what strikes me as an honest statement. I believe it and I can't condemn a guy who believes in his heart. He is right and when he's wrong has the guts to change. But listen, I'm not interested in your past. I know all I want to know. The Party took a lot out of your life, gave you nothing and when you realized this, you quit, without a fuss and you kept your mouth shut. All I want from you is this. Tell me if the Party or the Russians get in touch with you. Will you do that?"

[ ] "If the Russians contact me, I'll tell them to go to hell."

b7D

HAAG: "Look, I can't tell you what to say but will you tell me about any contacts?"

[ ] "Sure, I will."

[ ] then reiterated that he wholeheartedly believed in the Communist Party when he was a member etc., as mentioned above. He then indicated that he was on an errand and started to walk away.

In parting, SA HAAG told [ ] that he worked nearby and would "bump" into him from time to time to check on any contacts. [ ] was agreeable, shook hands and left.

#### Evaluation

[ ] appeared to be open, candid and uncomplicated. The interview was an opening and the opportunity to recontact

NY 100-134637

is established. No mention of the word "informant" was made. It is felt that through carefully contrived, casual recontacts in a long range program, [redacted] would develop some confidence in the FBI.

Accordingly [redacted] will be recontacted in 45 days and the Bureau advised.

b7D

No interview of [redacted] will be conducted at this time, as it is felt this would [redacted] and become an impediment to subsequent contacts with [redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 4/26/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two copies and for the New York Office one copy of an informant's statement entitled, "Telex Equipment Proposed for 'The Daily World.'"

The information appearing in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished on April 16, 1968, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SA WALTER A. BOYLE.

- 100-428091-6908
- ②-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
  - 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)

REC-23

EX-105

4 MAY 1968



98 MAY 7 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

TELEX EQUIPMENT PROPOSED FOR  
"THE DAILY WORLD"

It was learned that during March, 1938, Harry Yaris, Moscow correspondent for "The Worker," suggested that when the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) sets up its new paper, "The Daily World," Telex equipment be purchased or leased for communications with Moscow, USSR, so it will not be necessary to send stories by ordinary cables or by the mail. Yaris has arranged that if this is done, the CP, USA will not have to pay for the use of such equipment in Moscow.

When informed of this proposal, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CP, USA, indicated great interest in this proposal and stated it would be taken under advisement.

100-428091-671

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Conrad *due*

DATE: April 30, 1968

FROM : G. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 4/30/68, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

## ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:ccb  
(7)

REC-23

EX-105

100-42076909  
MAY 2 1968

98 MAY 7 1968

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA GEN. REG. NO. 27

104-11.6  
STATES GOVERNMENT

**ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**  
**Memorandum**

REC-69

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 4/25/68

On April 18, 1968, the Chicago Office received in the mail drop box maintained in the name of MILTON ADAMS, Box 4367, Chicago, Illinois 60680, U.S.A., for CG 5824-S\* an air mail communication from the Brazilian Communist Party (BCP). This communication bore the return address of Laboratorios Depeti S.A., Departamento de Relacoes Internacionais, Rua Barrani, 1255 - Sao Paulo - Estado de Sao Paulo - Brasil, and was postmarked April 13, 1968.

The contents of this communication consisted of one copy of "Voz Operaria," #38, April 1, 1968, the monthly publication of the BCP.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two Xerox copies and for the New York Office one Xerox copy of this issue of "Voz Operaria."

The communication and its contents will be turned over to CG 5824-S\* for eventual transmittal to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

- 2-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

ENCLOSURE

RAV:MDW

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

Copy to (4)  
by routing slip for  
☒ Info ☐ action  
date 5-13-68  
by RCP/jh

REC-69

4 MAY 2 1968



7-80665  
RAV:del  
5-30-68  
COPY AND SPECIMENS RETAINED IN LAB  
FOR LAB. ACTION AND REPORT

70 MAY 24 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SEVEN

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE  
Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 4/25/68

On April 18, 1968, the Chicago Office received in the mail drop box maintained in the name of MILTON ADAMS, Box 4367, Chicago, Illinois 60680, U.S.A.; for CG 5824-S\* an air mail communication from the Brazilian Communist Party (BCP). This communication bore the return address of Laboratorios Depeti S.A., Departamento de Relacoes Internacionais, Rua Barrani, 1255 - Sao Paulo - Estado de Sao Paulo - Brasil, and was postmarked April 13, 1968.

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The communication and its contents will be turned over to CG 5824-S\* for eventual transmittal to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA.

- 1-904
- ②-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)
  - 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1-Chicago

RAV:MDW

(4) INDEX

APR 30 10 04 AM '68  
RECEIVED

*Downing  
Laboratory*

*Please have searched  
Reviews for data?  
Interest from intelligence  
standpoint*



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

## SUMMARY FROM PORTUGUESE

From "Voz Operaria" (Workers' Voice), the central organ of the Brazilian Communist Party, No. XXXVIII, April 1968, no indication as to publisher and place of publication.

Page 1, Columns 1, 2, 3 and 4 and Page 2, Columns 1 and 2

### EDITORIAL

Let Us Combat Skepticism and Passiveness

This editorial is a review of the evils which have been afflicting Brazilian public life since the coup d'etat which brought Castelo Branco and Costa e Silva to power in 1964. It cites numerous statistics in order to contrast the deteriorating situation in Brazil with the victories of the forces of the left in other parts of the world during the intervening years. It closes with a recapitulation of the program of the Brazilian Communist Party as deliberated at the Sixth Party Congress in order to show that the Party is the only force capable of putting Brazil back on its feet.

Page 1, Columns 3 and 4

### ASSASSINATION OF A STUDENT

This article evokes the indignation and revulsion of the Brazilian people at the dastardly assassination of student Edson Luiz by the Police of Guanabara State. It ends with a call to the working masses of the city and of the countryside to wage a determined struggle in order to overthrow the present police state regime controlling Brazil.

Page 2, Columns 3 and 4 and Page 8, Columns 1, 2, 3 and 4

### ECONOMY AND FINANCES

The Crisis of the Dollar

The Crisis of the U. S. dollar is indicative of the bankruptcy of U. S. policies on the whole.

SUMMARIZED BY:

RAFFAELE A. VACCARI:cpl

May 8, 1968

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ENCLOSURE



Page 3, Columns 1, 2, 3, and 4

#### A POLITICAL RESOLUTION OF THE SIXTH CONGRESS

The Strategy of the Proletariat (Outline for an Educational Course)

This article deals with the present "stage of the Brazilian Revolution." It defines the enemies of the revolution and the revolutionary forces in order to set forth the so-called "revolutionary program" (expropriation of foreign monopolies, land reform, state economy, etc.).

The article closes with a prediction that eventually Brazil will become a socialist nation.

Page 4 and Page 5, Columns 1 and 2

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This article purports to be an elaboration of Lenin's teachings as to the leadership of the Party.

Page 5, Columns 1 and 2

#### LET US WORK IN THE COMPANIES AND IN THE UNIONS

According to this article, the most profitable areas to develop the united mass actions are the factories and labor unions.

Page 6 and Page 7, Column 1

#### AMENDMENTS TO OUR BY-LAWS

This article is a commentary on the amendments to the Party By-Laws approved by the Sixth Congress of the Brazilian Communist Party. It points out that the amendments make for a party which is more responsive to the Leninist principles which inspire it.

Page 7, Columns 2, 3 and 4

**WHAT THIS MAY DAY MAKES US THINK OF**

This article deals with the weaknesses of the forces of the left in Brazil and the difficulties which need to be overcome if the working class is to achieve ultimate victory.

Page 8, Columns 1, 2, 3 and 4

**LET US MAKE THIS MAY DAY A MAY DAY OF STRUGGLE AGAINST DICTATORSHIP**

This short item calls on all communists to double their efforts in bringing about demonstrations which will "multiply" throughout the year the major commemorations on May Day.

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Translator's Note: This issue of "Voz Operaria" does not appear to contain any data of interest from an intelligence standpoint.

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Let Us Combat Skepticism and Passiveness

This editorial is a review of the evils which have been afflicting Brazilian public life since the coup d'etat which brought Castelo Branco and Costa e Silva to power in 1964. It cites numerous statistics in order to contrast the deteriorating situation in Brazil with the victories of the forces of the left in other parts of the world during the intervening years. It closes with a recapitulation of the program of the Brazilian Communist Party as deliberated at the Sixth Party Congress in order to show that the Party is the only force capable of putting Brazil back on its feet.

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# VOZ OPERÁRIA

Número XXXVIII — Abril de 1968 NCr. \$ 0,10

ORGÃO CENTRAL

DO

PARTIDO COMUNISTA

BRASILEIRO

## Editorial COMBATER O CÉTICISMO E A PASSIVIDADE

Questos anos decorreram do golpe de abril. A vida política brasileira sofreu uma profunda modificação. Foi institucionalizado outro regime e, colocado o Estado a serviço de uma nova política. Houve, nesse período, troca de marechais no poder. Com a substituição, há um ano, de Castelo Branco por Costa e Silva, surgiram em alguns setores da população, ilusões de que haveria mudanças favoráveis ao povo. Mas o segundo marechal segue a orientação do primeiro. Oensiva, recua diante e fortalece o regime implantado, e continua a pôr em prática a mesma política. Que resultados trouxe para o país o golpe de abril? Como vivem hoje a classe operária e as massas trabalhadoras e populares?

A ditadura proclama êxito de sua política econômico-financeira. Alardeia que está encetando o ritmo da inflação e prometendo a retomada do desenvolvimento econômico. Quais têm sido, porém, as consequências dessa política para os trabalhadores e o povo?

O poder aquisitivo dos trabalhadores foi reduzido de 13,4% em 1965 e de 14,6% em 1966. O salário mínimo foi elevado de 27,37% em 1966, quando a alta do custo de vida no ano anterior tinha sido de 69%. Em 1967, o aumento do salário mínimo foi de 25% e o custo da vida tinha subido 41,1%. Também este ano a elevação do salário mínimo não correspondeu ao aumento dos preços e ficou muito aquém das necessidades dos trabalhadores. Documento aprovado em reunião promovida pela Confederação Nacional dos Trabalhadores na Indústria e realizado no mês de fevereiro mostrava que o salário mínimo, para atender à "razão mínima" fixada pelo decreto que o instituiu, devia ser de NCr\$ 462,63. O lide o governo "humano" de Costa e Silva e Passarinho fixou o novo salário mínimo em NCr\$ 129,15 para o Rio e S. Paulo. Calcularmos pelo Departamento Interindustrial de Estatística e Relações Socio-Econômicas de São Paulo revelam que um trabalhador que ganha salário mínimo tinha que trabalhar, em dezembro de 1967, 135 horas mais (quase um mês) do que em dezembro de 1965 para poder comprar trinta artigos indispensáveis.

A realidade, portanto, é que, embora o ritmo da inflação possa ter diminuído, a miséria aumentou para a classe operária e as massas trabalhadoras e populares, pois os reajustamentos de salários e reajustamentos ficam sempre muito atrás da elevação dos preços.

A política econômico-financeira da ditadura, segundo os moldes do FMI e se orientando pelos interesses dos monopólios norte-americanos, não apenas se lida na inter-

dição da exploração dos trabalhadores, mas contraria também os interesses das empresas de capital nacional, particularmente as pequenas e médias empresas, que são levadas à falência ou absorvidas pelos grupos imperialistas. O número de falências requeridas em São Paulo vem aumentando, de 1965 para cá, de aproximadamente 1.600 por ano, foi de 1.686 em 1965, passou a 2.535 em 1966 e atingiu a 3.699 em 1967. Também na Guanabara o número de falências aumentou politicamente na mesma proporção. Passou de 324, em 1965, para 484 em 1966 e 632 em 1967.

Além de trazer mais miséria e privações para nosso povo, a ditadura trouxe mais opressão. Impôs uma Constituição fascizante, suprimindo as liberdades democráticas. Atacou muitas das conquistas dos trabalhadores. Recusa privá-los do direito do greve. Reprime suas lutas reivindicatórias. Negligencia a liberdade de estabelecer contratos coletivos de trabalho com os patrões. Tenta reprimir dos sindicatos operários seu caráter de organização de luta pelos interesses da classe e transformá-los em entidades recreativas ou assistenciais. A ação política garante a minoria explorada dos camponeses pelos latifundiários, que não cumprem nem mesmo as leis existentes. O terror cultural é desenfreado contra a intelectualidade, que se vê privada da liberdade de criação artística e de expressão do pensamento. Aos estudantes se recusa o direito de lutar para estudar.

Por outro lado, a ditadura quer manter o povo afastado da vida política. Não lhe dá o direito de organizar-se livremente em partidos, ocultando, atrás do bipartidarismo, a realidade do monopólio do poder político pelo grupo dominante. O lide o governo "humano" de Costa e Silva anuncia novas restrições, com a suspensão da eleição para prefeito em centros de municípios, impedindo assim que milhões de brasileiros participem, mesmo dentro das limitações existentes, de eleições municipais.

A política da ditadura reforça a dependência e a subordinação do país ao imperialismo norte-americano, com o sacrifício da soberania e dos interesses nacionais. Seu entreguismo chegou ao ponto de levar para os Estados Unidos milhas de hectares tendidos de nossas reservas do ouro, trocando-se por dólares, para atender ao apelo do governo de Washington, que se empenha em salvar o valor artificial de sua moeda, enquanto força, através do FMI, a desvalorização do

crucero, no que também é prontamente atendido pela ditadura. O domínio das empresas monopolistas inquestionável sobre nossa economia é amplamente facilitado. Costa e Silva, tal qual Castelo Branco, continua a "eliminar as áreas de influência" nas questões litigiosas, submetendo às imposições do governo dos Estados Unidos, prejudicando os interesses nacionais, como aconteceu com o problema do café solável.

Os fatos mostram, assim, que o golpe de abril trouxe para nosso povo mais miséria e opressão, o aumento das privações e a liquidação das liberdades, ao mesmo tempo que submete o país ao domí-

nio e à espolição do imperialismo norte-americano.

O assalto da camarilha reacionária e entreguista ao poder ocorreu em uma situação política extremamente desfavorável às forças nacionalistas e democráticas. Foi na verdade possível, nas condições em que se deu, porque, devido a falhas já apontadas em documentos do Partido e que não vem ao caso repetir aqui, as forças mais combativas da frente nacionalista e democrática já estavam, em março de 1964, politicamente derrotadas.

Amplas setores da população, principalmente da pequena burguesia (Continua na 2ª página)

## O ASSASSINATO DO ESTUDANTE

O revoltante assassinato de Edson Luiz pela polícia da Guanabara, emocionou o país inteiro. Foram impressionantes as manifestações de repúdio ao crime da ditadura que se realizaram, no Rio, durante todo o dia 29 e que culminaram com a presença de cerca de 60 mil pessoas ao enterro do jovem estudante. Ao lado dos estudantes, participaram dessas manifestações trabalhadores, servidores públicos, artistas e intelectuais, padres católicos, parlamentares e personalidades políticas. E as manifestações alcançaram amplitude nacional, estendendo-se às capitais de quase todos os Estados.

O bando golpista que empolgou o poder em 1964 tem seguido um caminho de violências, arbitrariedades e crimes. Suprimiu as liberdades. Reprime os movimentos reivindicatórios. Intervém nas organizações operárias e populares, invade domicílios. Submete os patriotas e democratas à prisão, às torturas policiais e aos odiosos IPMs da Justiça Militar. Assassina trabalhadores e camponeses. Assassina agora um jovem estudante que, ao lado de milhares outros, lutava pelo direito de se alimentar e prosseguir em seus estudos. São esses os fatos que o regime ditatorial utiliza para conservar o poder e continuar a levar à prática sua política de entrega e submissão do país aos imperialistas norte-americanos, de obscurantismo cultural, de esmagamento dos operários e das massas trabalhadoras. A ditadura é isto: miséria, atraso e opressão.

A ditadura assassina clinicamente "lamenta" a morte de Edson Luiz. Procura atribuir a uma "violência desnecessária". Tenta obter a responsabilidade sobre os crimes da natureza dos "delírios despreparados". Mas a realidade é que os crimes desta natureza são produto do regime. Se houvesse liberdade, não teria havido a repressão à palavra e o assassinato do estudante. E a verdade é que a ação repressiva e criminosa da ditadura prossegue e prossegue.

A morte de Edson Luiz despertou indignação e revolta. E colocou de maneira dramática, ante a consciência de milhões de brasileiros, o problema fundamental que nosso povo enfrenta. E o problema de derrotar a ditadura e conquistar as liberdades democráticas. De liquidar o regime ditatorial e coexistir um regime que assegure as liberdades para o povo. Esta é a questão básica. Sua solução interessa a esmagadora maioria da nação.

Os protestos contra o assassinato de Edson Luiz foram a maior manifestação até hoje realizada contra a ditadura. Nêles se uniram diversas forças sociais e políticas. A amplitude e o vigor que o movimento assumiu na Guanabara prefiguram, por dois dias, nesse Estado, o brejo criminoso de ditadura. Será através da unidade na luta de todos as forças que se opõem ao poder do autoritarismo e da violência que nosso povo derrotará a ditadura e conquistará as liberdades democráticas. É este o caminho que levará à punição completa dos verdadeiros responsáveis pelo revoltante assassinato.

Nessa luta, é decisiva a participação da classe operária e das massas trabalhadoras da cidade e do campo. E os comunistas devem saber cumprir o papel que lhes cabe, aplicando com espírito de iniciativa, firmeza e entusiasmo a orientação traçada pelo VI Congresso.

# Combater o Ceticismo...

(Continuação da 1ª página)

sia urbana, mantiveram-se indiferentes diante do golpe, chegaram a apoiar o mesmo não participaram. Mas, a realidade dos quatro anos decorridos, os resultados das modificações políticas impostas à nação, do regime ditatorial e militar instalado, bem como as consequências da política que vem sendo realizada pela ditadura, determinaram sensível alteração na situação do país. Houve, em relação às posições assumidas em março de 1964, inequívoco deslocamento de forças sociais. Esse deslocamento se deu para posições contrárias ao grupo que empolgou o poder. E se refletiu no alijamento das forças políticas, levando a que muitas delas, mesmo entre as que participaram do golpe, hoje se coloquem em oposição ao regime ditatorial e sua política.

A profunda derrota, em 1963, das correntes nacionalistas e democráticas teve como consequência o recuo do movimento de massas, das lutas pela democracia, o progresso social e a independência nacional. Os assaltantes do poder encontraram condições para ir instituído, deixando o regime ditatorial e pôr em prática sua política sem encontrar maiores resistências e oposição. Essa situação veio, entretanto, se modificando. O descontentamento existente, que tendo a crescer, começa a transformar-se em ações. Vão adquirindo maior expressão a luta da classe operária pelos seus direitos e interesses, principalmente quando à defesa do seu poder aquisitivo, contra a política de arrocho salarial. Desenvolve-se, no campo, a resistência dos trabalhadores às violências e arbitrariedades dos latifundiários. Os estudantes continuam a defender com firmeza suas reivindicações, a enfrentar a repressão policial e combater a ditadura. Os artistas e intelectuais, num movimento de representação nacional, saem à rua, no Rio e em São Paulo, em defesa do direito de expressão e da liberdade de expressão do pensamento. Ressuscita-se o movimento nacionalista em torno da defesa da Amazônia.

É fato evidente que a resistência, oposição e combate à ditadura crescem, embora ainda não tenham atingido a amplitude, a profundidade e o vigor necessários. E não pode haver dúvida de que a luta das massas em defesa de seus reivindicações e direitos, contra o regime, o governo e sua política, aumentará cada vez mais, em consequência da própria situação a que o golpe de abril levou o país. É esse o caminho pelo qual vem tomando forma e consistência a frente das forças antitotalitárias, que também se desenvolve no plano político, através de diversos agrupamentos.

Apresenta-se, pelo visto, uma perspectiva de intensificação das lutas de classe operária, das massas trabalhadoras e de todo o povo, do crescimento da oposição à ditadura, do agravamento da situação política. E essa perspectiva se apresenta no quadro de uma situação internacional que se desenvolve num sentido desfavorável às forças reacionárias e entreguistas que dirigiram o golpe de 1964 e estão no poder. Seus amos, os imperialistas norte-americanos, sofrem derrotas políticas e militares, debatem-se

com problemas internos que se tornam agudos, já não possuem o predomínio esmagador que antes possuíam no sistema capitalista, cujas contradições no capitalismo. O progresso do socialismo e do conjunto das forças da liberdade é hoje a principal característica da situação internacional.

Diante dessa realidade, é indispensável que os comunistas, levando à prática a Resolução Política do VI Congresso, organizem e desenvolvam com entusiasmo sua ação entre as massas, sob todos os aspectos: a defesa das reivindicações imediatas das massas, a agitação e propaganda, a atividade ideológica e política. As manifestações de ceticismo revelam, antes de tudo, falta de confiança nas massas, desconhecimento da situação que se desenvolve no país e no mundo, ausência de visão quanto ao desenvolvimento ulterior dessa situação. Conduzem, por isso mesmo, ao isolamento dos comunistas, a seu afastamento das lutas reivindicatórias e políticas que já se iniciam e que determinarão o rumo dos acontecimentos. Não menos nefasta é a posição de expectativa, como se desvessem aguardar que a situação se tornasse "madura" para então entrarmos em ação. É certo que o voluntarismo, a pressa perseguida por alguns, não tem a ver com o marxismo. Mas o combate, sempre necessário, ao voluntarismo não pode, em hipótese alguma, servir de bônus ao espontaneísmo, que também nada tem a ver com o marxismo.

A Resolução Política do VI Congresso salienta que a preocupação permanente dos comunistas deve ser a de construir para "a formação" acertada das reivindicações mais sentidas dos trabalhadores, relacionadas com o salário, as condições de vida, os direitos de reunião e manifestação, bem como a organização da luta por estas reivindicações e a escolha das formas adequadas para a condução da luta". A Resolução também nos mostra a necessidade de mobilização e organização das massas componentes dos setores assalariados da pequena burguesia urbana, da intelectualidade progressista, das mulheres, da juventude, etc. E nos diz, igualmente, que o esforço fundamental para impulsionar o movimento de massas contra a ditadura deve ser acompanhado de um esforço tenaz para unificar a ação de todas as forças e personalidades políticas que resistem ao regime e a ele se opõem.

Esse é o caminho indicado pelo VI Congresso do nosso Partido. É um caminho que exige trabalho paciente e persistência, mas também abnegação, espírito de sacrifício, iniciativa, audácia e, principalmente, participação à frente das lutas da classe operária e das massas trabalhadoras e populares, dedicação e combatividade na defesa dos seus interesses e direitos. A situação em que se encontra o país, quatro anos após o golpe de abril, reforça nossa convicção de que este é o caminho acertado, que levará ao fortalecimento do Partido, ao crescimento de seu prestígio e influência, à conquista de êxitos e vitórias na luta pela derrota da ditadura, pela democracia, a independência nacional e o socialismo.

## Economia & Finanças

### A CRISE DO DOLAR

O noticiário da imprensa comercial sobre a atual crise do dólar não deixa perceber a causa verdadeira e determinante dessa crise, que explique o seu mecanismo e a possibilidade de superá-la. O governo dos Estados Unidos resiste obstinadamente a qualquer idéia de redução da taxa pela qual atualmente se converte em ouro sua moeda nacional. O noticiário se concentra sobre o valor atual e potencial das reservas de ouro dos diversos países, sobre os riscos que se desdobram no país e no mundo, ausência de visão quanto ao desenvolvimento ulterior dessa situação.

Desde há 34 anos, quando foi fixada a relação atual de 35 dólares por "onça" (onça de 29 gramas) de ouro, o valor real expresso pelo dólar não cessou de cair, ano a ano. Há muita discrepância sobre o vulto global dessa queda, mas aceita-se geralmente que, hoje, o dólar representa menos da metade do valor que representava em 1934. Desde então, a alta dos preços internacionais foi uma constante na vida americana, ora mais, ora menos, num nível médio aproximado de 2% ao ano. Acumulada em todo o período, e agravada nos últimos anos com uma elevação para 3,5% ao ano, essa taxa é suficiente, como sobra, para esvaziar ao meio o poder de compra real da moeda. A hegemonia econômica e política dos Estados Unidos no mundo capitalista, no lado da existência em Washington de uma reserva de ouro relativamente grande, permitiram, entretanto, que o imperialismo norte-americano mantivesse inalterado o valor que sua moeda adquiriu no exterior, durante todo esse período.

Quando se trata do Brasil, ou de outro qualquer país sujeito à sua influência, o imperialismo é muito rigoroso em exigir, através do F.M.I. e outros órgãos de gestão financeira, a estrita observância da elevação interna de preços na valorização externa da moeda. Para ela, a norma não é obrigatória. Mas o que ele alega para eliciar os países dependentes dele a cumprirem essa norma também é válida para eles: toda violação de uma lei econômica é punida inevitavelmente pela própria economia. No caso, o imperialismo norte-americano passou a violar a lei básica da economia mercantil, a lei do valor. Conseguiu, com isto, uma vantagem poderosa para o reforçamento do seu poderio mundial. Mas pôs em marcha ao mesmo tempo um mecanismo de de-

formação e desequilíbrio de suas relações financeiras internacionais.

A sustentação da taxa artificial do câmbio foi um fator de crescimento das exportações dos Estados Unidos. A firmeza da taxa do câmbio por outro pressionou no sentido da estabilidade dos preços internacionais, em dólar, dos artigos de exportação estrangeira, reduzindo-se por isso o poder de competição externa do produto norte-americano, em virtude da alta dos custos internos. Inversamente, os preços em dólar mais altos, no mercado norte-americano, favoreceram a venda, neste mercado, de produtos industriais fabricados em outros países. O avanço tecnológico da indústria americana, que possibilita a produção a custos relativamente baixos, em comparação com a indústria de outros países, bem como as manobras de manipulação do mercado internacional pelos monopólios dos Estados Unidos permitiram que se compensassem em parte a situação desse fator relativo. Mas, por outro lado, após a II Guerra, numerosas países realizaram um esforço no sentido de proteger e promover sua própria industrialização, ou a recuperação de seu parque produtivo destruído pela guerra (e o dólar "cru" foi uma pressão importante para a realização desse esforço), como o que se compreende o mercado para a venda de produtos americanos. Na conjunção desses diferentes fatores à expansão da demanda e estímulos à expansão da demanda na balança comercial externa localiza-se uma causa básica dos resultados negativos que passou a registrar o balanço de pagamentos dos Estados Unidos.

A outra causa surgiu nas relações de compra real da moeda. Ações não comerciais, principalmente nos movimentos de capitais e outras transações financeiras. É a verdade que nessa esfera, predominantemente, é que o padrão ouro alto do dólar beneficia o imperialismo norte-americano. A moeda norte-americana passou a ter um poder de compra artificialmente alto e crescente no exterior. O mesmo digo que, nos Estados Unidos, não dava mais para pagar nem um hífe, custava um farto almoço no estrangeiro, graças à flutuação do câmbio em ouro mantida pela armazém e pressões econômicas de Washington e aceita pelo resto do mundo. Com seus dólares inflados dessa forma, os capitalistas imigrantes passaram a gozar das condições para investimento no exterior altamente privilegiadas, em relação aos capitalistas locais. Com o poder de compra de seu dinheiro multiplicado, e com a tecnologia que podiam utilizar atuando ainda em seu favor, eles passaram a usufruir de enormes vantagens para comprar ou absorver empresas locais, ou montar novas empresas, pagando milhares

(Continua na 8ª página)



# A ESTRATÉGIA DO PROLETARIADO

## (Esquema para Palestra)

O proletariado e seu Partido de vanguarda, que lutam pela revolução socialista e a sociedade capitalista, devem traçar o plano estratégico do desenvolvimento da revolução. Nesse plano se estabelecem o caráter da etapa imediata da revolução, as forças que a revolução deve combater e derrotar nessa etapa, as forças com as quais o proletariado pode e deve aliar-se para a efetivação desse passo revolucionário, bem como o programa que favoreça a unidade das forças revolucionárias e fixe as tarefas da etapa dada da revolução. A determinação dessa etapa, do seu lado, depende e resulta da definição das contradições de infraestrutura que entravam o desenvolvimento das forças produtivas e do conjunto da sociedade, no momento dado.

### A ETAPA DA REVOLUÇÃO BRASILEIRA

O desenvolvimento capitalista que ocorre no Brasil tem um caráter objetivamente progressista, porque representa a passagem da sociedade de um estágio mais atrasado para um mais adiantado. Mas não é um desenvolvimento ao ritmo suficiente e com a direção adequada para resolver os problemas urgentes da população brasileira, quanto à satisfação de suas necessidades materiais e culturais, de acordo com as possibilidades oferecidas pelas técnicas criadas pela revolução técnico-científica e pela revolução social que se processam no mundo moderno. O capitalismo não se pode oferecer assim como perspectiva histórica de desenvolvimento para o povo brasileiro, que precisa de outro tipo de desenvolvimento, mais rápido, mais humanizado e socialmente mais justo.

A dominação imperialista e a exploração latifundiária da terra, com cuja ação se tem encerrado o desenvolvimento capitalista, são os fatores principais de entrave ao desenvolvimento das forças produtivas nacionais. Entre eles e as neces-

dades desse desenvolvimento transcorre a contradição fundamental da sociedade brasileira, nas condições atuais. A etapa atual da revolução brasileira é portanto nacional e democrática, antimonopolista e antilatifundiária.

### OS INIMIGOS DA REVOLUÇÃO

Os imperialistas e latifundiários são os inimigos fundamentais da revolução brasileira. A eles se associa o setor entreguista da burguesia, cuja imposição cresceu com o desenvolvimento capitalista. Associam-se também grupos monopolistas do comércio exterior e do comércio atacadista de gêneros alimentícios, bem como grupos relacionados com o capital financeiro, interessados na persistência do sistema de dominação imperialista e da exploração latifundiária.

Entre todos os inimigos das transformações democráticas e progressistas reclamadas pela sociedade brasileira, o imperialismo norte-americano se destaca como o principal. Por seu poderio na economia brasileira, pela liderança que exercem entre as forças retrógradas e pela ação de genêraro internacional que desenvolvem, os imperialistas norte-americanos atacam contra o fogo principal das forças interessadas no progresso e na emancipação do país. A política de alianças do proletariado deve portanto ter como norma fundamental a união com todos quantos se opõem, em maior ou menor escala, de modo permanente ou por contradições momentâneas, ao imperialismo norte-americano.

### AS FORÇAS REVOLUCIONÁRIAS

O proletariado, para realizar sua luta nas condições atuais da revolução brasileira, precisa unir-se a todas as forças que se opõem à dominação imperialista e à exploração latifundiária. Realiza por

isso a política de frente única nacionalista e democrática, que visa a unidade com as classes e camadas da sociedade brasileira que se interessam pelo desenvolvimento independente e progressista do país.

Embora não possa isoladamente realizar as tarefas da revolução e precise de aliados, o proletariado é a força motriz principal da frente única nacionalista e democrática. Ele encabeça esse papel não apenas pela sua característica histórica de classes revolucionária mais consequente e dotada da missão de dirigir a construção da nova sociedade, como ainda pela posição que já ocupa na sociedade brasileira atual, onde ele constitui a classe sobre a qual repousa o esforço principal do movimento nacionalista e democrático, graças ao seu número, ao seu nível de organização e consciência e à sua localização nos centros nervosos da vida social e política brasileira.

O campesinato é um aliado fundamental do proletariado. Os arrendatários, meeiros, parceiros e outras categorias de pequenos produtores autônomos desprovidos de terra própria, que são a maioria da população camponesa, vivem esmagados pelo sistema latifundiário e representam um enorme potencial de força revolucionária. Os camponeses pobres, médios e, inclusive, ricos, que, embora proprietários de terra, nela trabalham com suas famílias, têm também contradições permanentes com o latifundismo cujo desenvolvimento agrava força à frente única revolucionária.

A pequena burguesia urbana é igualmente um aliado fundamental do proletariado na frente única. Ela atua tradicionalmente um papel importante na vida política brasileira, mas as transformações que sofreu no período recente pusaram mais relvô em sua posição de aliada da classe operária. Conquanto mantenha sempre vinculo e pontos de contato com a burguesia, principal-

mente de natureza política e ideológica, ela se aproxima da classe operária por seus interesses econômicos e, graças ao seu nível de instrução, à sua mobilidade política e também ao seu número e sua localização nos centros decisivos da vida nacional, sua adesão ao movimento revolucionário constitui um elemento indispensável ao êxito da frente única.

A burguesia nacional participa também da frente única. Embora seja um aliado instável e vacilante, que tende a conciliar com os inimigos do povo brasileiro, ela se alia com o imperialismo e o latifundismo, por seus interesses no comércio e na expansão do mercado interno, e por isso se liga ao movimento nacionalista e democrático.

### O PROGRAMA REVOLUCIONÁRIO

Para cumprir com êxito suas tarefas, a revolução nacional e democrática deve executar um programa de transformações que modifique radicalmente a vida brasileira.

As empresas pertencentes aos monopólios estrangeiros serão nacionalizadas e será extirpado todo vínculo de dominação que prende o país ao imperialismo. Dessa forma, o Estado tomará posse da soma de recursos e do poder de decisão necessários à aceleração do desenvolvimento econômico, livre do processo inflacionário e de outras deformações resultantes da exploração imperialista.

A reforma agrária liquidará o monopólio da propriedade da terra. As terras desapropriadas serão entregues aos camponeses sem terra, ou com terra insuficiente, e aos que nelas queiram trabalhar, em explorações de tipo individual ou coletivo. Assim se possibilitará a adição da economia no campo, a ampliação do mercado interno, a elevação dos níveis de produtividade da agricultura e o aumento do padrão de vida material e cultural da população camponesa.

o setor estatal será reforçado e consolidado na economia. O Estado será um instrumento poderoso para a industrialização e o desenvolvimento da economia nacional independente, seja através das empresas estatais, seja através do planejamento, controle e estímulo da atividade do capital privado não monopolista. Cabeçete assim premissas para a sociedade socialista.

A realização dessas transformações exige uma profunda mudança na correlação de forças políticas e a passagem do poder estatal para as mãos das classes e camadas que participam da luta contra o imperialismo e o latifundismo. Do poder estatal participarão assim as diversas correntes e partidos revolucionários.

### A TRANSIÇÃO AO SOCIALISMO

A profundidade da revolução nacional e democrática e a rapidez com que se processará sua passagem para a etapa socialista dependem da força e da capacidade de luta que no processo da revolução adquire o núcleo fundamental das forças revolucionárias, da influência que ele exerce sobre as camadas sociais que lhe estão mais próximas. A condição política fundamental para a transição ao socialismo reside na hegemonia do proletariado.

# SÔBRE A DIREÇÃO COLETIVA

JOSE NEVES

A Resolução Política do VI Congresso indicia a necessidade da combatermos os fatores que freiam o desenvolvimento do Partido. Recomendando que seja assegurado o pleno exercício da democracia e da disciplina partidárias, com base na aplicação do princípio do centralismo democrático e da direção coletiva. Foi a questão da própria caráter dirigente do Partido que levou o VI Congresso a fixar esta orientação. Tratamos, neste artigo, do princípio da direção coletiva e da necessidade de lutarmos pela sua acertada aplicação.

Inicialmente, desejamos apontar que o êxito do nosso esforço pela aplicação do princípio da direção coletiva dependerá de modo certo e justo da compreensão e aplicação do princípio básico da estrutura e da vida do Partido — o centralismo democrático. Nada mais falso do que contrapor direção centralizada a trabalho coletivo de direção. O centralismo democrático exige que a direção tenha caráter coletivo. Recordamos, a propósito, que o centralismo democrático não pode ser confundido, segundo pensam algumas pessoas, com as práticas e deformações decorrentes do sistema do culto à personalidade e nem com as erros grosseiros que cometemos no deixar de levar em conta que "as formas concretas em que se manifesta o centralismo democrático mudam de acordo com as condições históricas". Por outro lado, não pode e não deve ser confundido com "centralismo burocrático", infelizmente muito comum entre nós e que corresponde a uma forma rígida e errônea de aplicação do centralismo democrático, convertendo num freio ao desenvolvimento da iniciativa e da atividade dos diversos órgãos e organizações partidárias. Exemplo disso são as instruções excessivamente detalhadas da direção central ao invés da discussão política viva nas organizações do Partido. Semelhante comportamento leva a que os militantes e as organizações intermediárias não sintam a necessidade de pensar por conta própria e de ter iniciativa política diante da situação de seu Estado, município, em-

preza ou bairro. E é uma contradição do centralismo democrático, constituído, como todas as organizações desse princípio, em oposição à prática da direção coletiva.

Assim como as concepções marxista-leninista, o Partido fixa sua política via cada etapa histórica, procura dirigir e orientar a atividade dos seus militantes e de suas organizações a fim do que, através das lutas políticas, ideológicas e orgânicas, mobilizem as massas, principalmente os trabalhadores, para a luta pela sua reivindicação, contra a opressão política, social e econômica, e pela paz, a democracia e o socialismo. Daí a imperiosa necessidade de que as direções e organizações partidárias atuem sempre como órgãos políticos. A verdade, entretanto, é que a maioria das direções e organizações ainda subestima o trabalho político e se dedica quase exclusivamente às tarefas de caráter burocrático, fazendo da direção a sua rotina.

A aplicação das resoluções e decisões do nosso VI Congresso exige dos órgãos de direção e das organizações do Partido, principalmente de nosso Comitê Central, que desenvolvam um amplo trabalho ideológico, político e orgânico entre as massas populares, em especial entre os operários. Mas, para isso, é indispensável que se coloque, em primeiro plano a questão referente à necessidade de elevar o nível do trabalho de direção do Partido. O estudo aprofundado e objetivo da realidade por parte dos órgãos e organizações partidárias, naturalmente a partir do Comitê Central, é uma das condições mais importantes para que o Partido possa aplicar em breve suas próprias decisões o elaborar com mais acerto a justa sua resoluções e diretivas, e que a direção política seja real e efetiva.

Certo, porém, alcançar esses elevados objetivos? Somos um partido clandestino, com seus dirigentes e militantes perseguidos, muitos condenados. Esta fato constitui, sem dúvida, um empecilho. Será, entretanto, o principal empecilho? Creio que não. O principal obstáculo a vencer está, acreditamos, na zona

neira artesã, primitiva e improvisada como encaramos o trabalho de direção. Subestimamos o trabalho coletivo de direção e consideramos sua prática "algo muito complicado e difícil". Não compreendemos que a luta para tornar sua aplicação efetiva deve seguir todo um processo que exige entendimento, compreensão e vontade de colaborar, exige perseverança e capacidade de organização, uma correta seleção e mobilização de quadros, a preocupação fundamental em encontrar os meios e formas que possibilitem incorporar os membros do Partido à sua atividade prática e recolher os conhecimentos e a experiência dos militantes e das organizações partidárias. Também não compreendemos que somente a prática da direção coletiva nos permitirá, por maior razão nas condições atuais, travar com acerto a luta de classes em suas várias frentes, tratando de modo racional e estudo "dos processos" e fenômenos sociais. São crescentes a complexidade e extensão dos problemas que a vida coloca hoje diante de nós. Formam-se os tempos dos "sub-tudo". O estudo aprofundado torna imperiosa a especialização. Mais ainda do que em qualquer outra época, exigente o trabalho conjunto e coletivo permitirá que o pensamento do Partido seja elaborado de maneira que suas resoluções e decisões reflitam, do modo mais completo e acertado, as exigências da luta de classe do proletariado. Será lutando com afinco para vencer essas incompreensões e falhas, para aplicar o princípio da direção coletiva, que superaremos, ao mesmo tempo, as grandes dificuldades que as condições de clandestinidade impõem ao trabalho de direção.

Exemplo notável de ponderação e de compreensão da necessidade do trabalho coletivo nos deixou Lênin. Vejamos o que diz L. Pótteva, seu secretário: "Em sua atividade como chefe do Estado Soviético, Lênin aplicou rigorosamente o princípio da direção coletiva. Apesar de seu enorme prestígio, Lênin não resolvia nunca as questões pessoalmente, como Presidente do Conselho de Comissários do Povo. Estimulava a iniciativa de cada tra-

balhado, não o oprimia com sua autoridade. Ao contrário, procurava persuadi-lo. O elogio, a adulação e o servilismo eram inconcebíveis entre as pessoas próximas a Lênin". Em "Princípios e normas leninistas da vida do Partido", L. S. Lepov se refere, na página 29, à forma muito interessante como Lênin dirigia as reuniões do Conselho de Comissários do Povo ou do Biro Político do Comitê Central do Partido Comunista. Afirma o seguinte: "Lênin prestava muita atenção ao que diziam os informantes e os convidava a expor imediatamente suas opiniões, objeções e sugestões. Os documentos recopilados nas obras de Lênin, suas anotações, perguntas, etc., mostram como ele sempre procurava conhecer os pontos de vista de grande número de pessoas antes de tomar uma decisão definitiva. Durante as reuniões do Conselho de Comissários do Povo, quase nunca intervinha nos debates se não figurava entre os informantes. Pelo visto, não queria abusar de sua autoridade, deixava que expressassem suas opiniões todos os que desajustavam".

O exemplo de Lênin nos mostra a sua compreensão da necessidade do trabalho coletivo, do caráter científico desse trabalho e das imensas possibilidades que ele cria para que apliquemos com acerto a teoria marxista à realidade brasileira. Se trabalharmos coletivamente, poderemos planejar a melhor utilização dos recursos humanos de nosso Partido, será mais fácil trazer com justiça as tarefas, influir na ação dos trabalhadores e obter as informações e os dados necessários à elevação de nossa atividade como direção política, pois o Partido dispõe de uma estrutura orgânica que lhe dá mão, só essa possibilidade, mas também a de elevar o nível científico do trabalho de direção. O Partido pode contar, para isso, com a ajuda dos seus quadros intelectuais e de patriotas que não se conformam com a situação em que vive o nosso povo e estão dispostos a colaborar, mesmo nas condições de clandestinidade em que atuamos. O justo aproveitamento dessa capacidade, que poderíamos chamar de ociosa, possibilitará um estudo mais completo dos fenômenos da vida econômica, social e política da nossa pátria.

No VI Congresso, nosso Partido chegou a conclusão de que a solução acertada dos problemas exige que o trabalho de direção se baseie na experiência e na inteligência coletiva do maior número possível de pessoas. E, no entanto, imprescindível que nos libertemos da ligeireza no trato das questões, da ausência de espírito de pesquisa, da ideia simplista, embora muitas vezes sincera e honrada, de que os fatos se desenvolvem de acordo com nossos desejos e concepções subjetivistas. Para isso, é também necessário que combatamos as decisões irrefletidas e que aprendamos a examinar todos os pontos de vista e todas as iniciativas, com tolerância e com ponderação, quando se espanta, se pesquisa, se busca um caminho, não é demonstração de indecisão, nem de vacilação. A contrário, obriga a que consideremos com espírito crítico os resultados dos debates e que reconheçamos, alternadamente, as falhas existentes.

O desenvolvimento do espírito crítico e do pensamento crítico constitui um dos fatores mais importantes do trabalho coletivo. To-

masse pôs necessariamente a critério das condições favoráveis a que isso ocorra. Não houve ouvir, ou anotar, o que as camadas dizem, as informações que transmitem, as opiniões que apresentam, as sugestões que fazem. Devemos, através do exemplo da nossa própria atuação, procurar a convicção de que as idéias e propostas apresentadas serão sempre tomadas em consideração, devidamente examinadas e, quando for o caso, levadas à prática.

Outro aspecto essencial do trabalho coletivo de direção é o seguinte: as decisões sobre todas as questões importantes devem ser adotadas pelo coletivo correspondente e não por pessoas isoladas. A decisão individual de problemas importantes viola os princípios básicos da vida de nosso Partido e conduz facilmente a erros graves. Isso não significa, evidentemente, que se deva reunir a direção para resolver todo e qualquer problema. Reuniões demasiado frequentes ou demoradas em excesso, discussões de minúcias, de detalhes, etc., nada têm a ver com direção coletiva. Resumindo, ao contrário, novas ao trabalho de direção, contribuindo para entorpecimento e tornando inoperante. Representam um afastamento do princípio de direção coletiva. O que se deve ter em vista é a discussão organizada e aprofundada dos assuntos importantes. Para isso, é indispensável que as reuniões sejam bem preparadas e bem conduzidas, que os membros do coletivo tenham conhecimento prévio das questões que vão ser discutidas, que recebam com antecedência, a fim de que possam estudá-las, os documentos que serão examinados. É necessário, enfim, não afogar num mar de detalhes e de problemas secundários, aquelas questões que tenham realmente importância decisiva.

Lembremos ainda que direção coletiva e responsabilidade individual não se contrapõem e nem se excluem. Ao contrário. Quanto mais coletivo for o trabalho de direção, maior será a responsabilidade dos restritos de direção e do dirigente individualmente. A direção coletiva não pode existir sem a responsabilidade individual dos dirigentes pela execução e cumprimento das resoluções aprovadas. Em qualquer organização ou órgão de direção, será indispensável que haja divisão do trabalho e responsabilidade individual, que haja uma pessoa ou um restrito de direção que responda pela condução do trabalho em seu conjunto. Por outro lado, será através da acertada aplicação e do reforço da direção coletiva que o dirigente mais rapidamente aumentará sua capacidade e terá sua responsabilidade e autoridade aumentadas.

Há camadas que, quase como repetição ao mandamento, se violam desordenadamente do sistema de culto à personalidade, ou contagiados por uma compreensão anarquista do que é direção coletiva, negam a necessidade de qualquer autoridade. Não levam em conta, ou não compreendem, que a classe operária necessita de autoridade das autoridades da luta pela sua liberdade, necessita da autoridade dos velhos quadros que, com uma experiência política, representam também, ao lado dos elementos de renovação, o sentido da continuidade da própria luta. Quando

o falemos em prestígio e autoridade do dirigente, partimos do que os mesmos se originam dos vínculos do dirigente com as massas, do trabalho que realiza, da experiência que adquiriu e dos conhecimentos e capacidade que possui, da maneira acertada e correta como se conduziu na aplicação dos princípios que regem a vida do Partido. Exemplo interessante e instrutivo da importância que desempenha a pessoa do dirigente encontramos na carta que Lênin enviou, em 1923, ao XII Congresso do PCUS. Lênin apresentou, nessa carta, severas exigências para o desempenho da tarefa de dirigente. Colocou, em particular, a questão de Stálin, se Stálin poderia continuar sendo Secretário do Comité Central. "O camarada Stálin — dizia Lênin — tendo chegado a Secretário-Geral, concentrou em suas mãos um poder imenso, e não estou seguro de que sempre sairá utilizado com a suficiente prudência". Lênin, ao afirmar que Stálin era demasiado brusco, assinalava sua inteligência, sua falta de atenuação para os camaradas, seu caráter apático, defeitos que tornavam incompetível para a função de Secretário-Geral. Lênin via que as qualidades negativas de Stálin poderiam prejudicar o Partido e o Estado, e propunha discutir sua transferência para outro cargo.

Considerando que o básico, para o bom andamento do trabalho de direção e do Partido, é seu caráter coletivo, os marxistas nunca negam o papel dos dirigentes. Lênin ensinava que os dirigentes são as pessoas que "recebem o máximo de autoridade, influência e experiência". Naturalmente, esses dirigentes devem surgir de modo natural no transcurso da luta da classe operária e do povo. Não são dirigentes porque atribuiu a si mesmos esse título. E, diferentemente dos dirigentes das classes exploradoras, os dirigentes do partido político da classe operária devem servir de exemplo de ligação com as massas, de subordinação à organização do Partido e de observância da disciplina partidária. O que os princípios do Partido negam é a aplicação acertada do princípio supremo de direção, o princípio de direção coletiva, impede, é o culto à personalidade, a divinização do indivíduo, o exagero do papel dos dirigentes.

Ao concluir, desejamos fazer referência a dispositivos dos nossos Estatutos que fixam normas do trabalho coletivo e democrático das direções e de todas as organizações do Partido. Trata-se dos artigos que determinam a efetividade dos órgãos de direção, a prestação de contas desses órgãos e dos dirigentes, o papel dos comitês, as reuniões de ativistas, as assembleias, seminários, etc. É evidente, porém, que estas reuniões e discussões periódicas, embora indispensáveis, não são suficientes. O importante é compreendermos o princípio da direção coletiva no sentido de que as direções, no seu trabalho diário, devem apoiar-se na experiência coletiva dos militantes, do conjunto do Partido e das massas. E que os comitês sempre em mente que é da constante e não vez mais estreita ligação com as massas que o Partido nutre a seiva que lhe dá vida e força, tornando-lhe capaz de cumprir sua tarefa histórica de vanguarda da classe operária.

## Trabalhar na Empresa e no Sindicato

MARCELO IANI

A Resolução Política do VI Congresso afirmou: "A classe operária é a principal força motriz da frente antidiutadorial. A atividade primordial dos comunistas deve dirigir-se no sentido de organizar e desenvolver a unidade de ação da classe operária em defesa de seus interesses econômicos e políticos imediatos e pela derrota da ditadura. É indispensável partir sempre da defesa daqueles interesses que possam levar os trabalhadores a se unir e lutar. A formulação acertada das reivindicações mais sentidas dos trabalhadores, relacionadas com o salário, as condições de vida e trabalho, os direitos de reunião e manifestação, bem como a organização da luta por estas reivindicações e a escolha das formas adequadas para condução da luta devem ser uma preocupação permanente dos comunistas".

Assim, a Resolução Política indica com clareza o papel dos comunistas e seus tarefas a fim de efetivamente transformar o nosso Partido em partido dirigente de grandes massas, organizador de ações políticas contra a ditadura. Para que isso aconteça é necessário nos ligarmos às massas através da luta em defesa de seus interesses econômicos e políticos. Isto significa que a luta diária, permanentemente, pelas reivindicações dos trabalhadores deve ser preocupação constante de cada afiliado, de cada organização e órgão do Partido. Contrariando essas indicações, é comum encontrarmos comunistas que não sabem quais são as reivindicações mais sentidas dos operários da empresa ou empresas em que trabalham, não têm a preocupação de organizar os seus colegas de trabalho, e muitas vezes nem mesmo vão aos sindicatos.

A luta pelas reivindicações diárias das massas adquire uma importância política de primeira ordem. É através dos combates diários dentro da empresa que os trabalhadores vão adquirindo experiência e consciência cada vez maior de que sua força reside na unidade e na organização, de que essa unidade e organização depende a conquista de vitórias que, por vezes, que sejam, vão acelerando a derrota da ditadura.

Sem dúvida, o trabalho dentro das empresas é uma tarefa penosa e difícil nas circunstâncias atuais. Nós, comunistas, que lutamos pelo poder político para a classe operária, devemos saber encontrar em cada local de trabalho os meios e as formas de nos identificarmos com as massas, de nos firmarmos com elas, sentir os seus problemas e com elas encontrar a melhor maneira de solucioná-las. Na medida em que as lutas de massas vão sendo desencadeadas, o trabalho dentro de cada empresa vai-se tornando mais fácil.

A unidade dos trabalhadores é de importância vital para o desencadear de ações concretas pela conquista das liberdades democráticas e pelo fortalecimento das forças que em nosso país se batem pela derrota da ditadura. Isto significa que nós comunistas devemos nos esforçar em cada lo-

cal de trabalho para eliminar tudo aquilo que possa dividir os trabalhadores, enfraquecer sua organização e impedir o desencadear da luta. Devemos compreender que é nosso dever sermos os campeões da unidade dos trabalhadores na luta contra a exploração patronal, na luta pela derrota da ditadura.

Ainda é comum entre nós dar-se importância aos sindicatos apenas nos vespúrgos de acordos salariais. Trata-se de uma compreensão errônea do trabalho dos sindicatos, compreensão que não conduz ao fortalecimento dessas organizações de trabalhadores.

Os sindicatos são instrumentos de luta por melhores condições de vida dos trabalhadores e suas decisões facilitam a atividade dos comitês dentro das empresas. Por exemplo: as decisões da II Conferência dos trabalhadores, contra a política de arrocho salarial, são um instrumento legal que possibilita o debate junto aos trabalhadores sobre o real significado da política inflacionária da ditadura, seu conteúdo de confisco salarial em benefício do imperialismo norte-americano e de seus agentes internos.

Trata-se, portanto, de fortalecer os sindicatos planejando na empresa a coleta de assinaturas no memorial contra a política de arrocho salarial, realizando o plebiscito a fim de que os trabalhadores manifestem de maneira organizada o seu repúdio a essa política. A atuação nos sindicatos deve ser diária e permanente, em estreita ligação com a atuação dentro da empresa. O comunista na empresa deve ser um propagandista do seu sindicato, campeão da sindicalização, estar em dia com o que se passa em sua entidade profissional e levar os trabalhadores a lutar pela aplicação de suas decisões. Nesse sentido, é de vital importância o combate às tendências que levam a não atuar nos sindicatos sob o pretexto de que os mesmos são dirigidos por políticos ou que a ditadura não permite.

Estas manifestações errôneas não permitem ao trabalhador o desencadear de ações unitárias das massas. Por isso devemos atuar dentro das condições, devemos atuar internamente dentro dos sindicatos, levar a massa a participar de sua vida, o dentro delas lutar para modificar a composição das diretorias que não correspondem aos interesses da classe operária.

Partindo sempre dos interesses da classe devemos saber trabalhar com todos aqueles que têm uma concepção do mundo diferente da nossa, mas que queiram dar um passo para frente que seja na luta contra a ditadura, na luta pelos interesses imediatos dos trabalhadores.

Devemos combater o revisionismo da palavra na base da organização de ações de massas na luta concreta pelo pão — por melhores salários, contra a política de arrocho salarial —, combatendo todas as condições concretas de cada local, tratando de organizar a aplicação da Resolução Política do VI Congresso de nosso Partido.

# REFERÊNCIAS

## AS MODIFICAÇÕES

### NOS ESTATUTOS

JOÃO DE SOUZA

O VI Congresso fez as modificações propostas pelo antigo Comitê Central aos Estatutos do Partido. São modificações destinadas ao aperfeiçoamento dos métodos de direção coletiva, ao fortalecimento do trabalho organizativo e ao desenvolvimento das relações na vida partidária.

Temos então, no lado da nova tática de orientação política, a nova Carta da vida partidária, que rege o funcionamento das organizações e regulamenta a atividade social dos comunistas.

Traza-se da afirmação das leis do partido político da classe operária, o revolucionário Partido Comunista Brasileiro, que se identifica nos seus princípios marxistas-leninistas, como destacamento de vanguarda, organizado para a ação política e se propõe a elevada função dirigente das lutas de massas do nosso povo pelo caminho brasileiro da revolução.

A discussão no Congresso evidenciou que os artigos dos Estatutos não devem ser tomados como coleções de dogmas para os arquivos modernos nem das esquerdistas nem dos direitistas; tampouco devem ser tratados como letras mortas para serem resuscitadas apenas nos casos de punição disciplinar.

Os artigos dos Estatutos são as letras vivas da necessidade histórica da organização política da classe operária brasileira, que precisa ter o seu próprio partido para defender seus interesses, derrotar a ditadura militar das classes exploradoras e alcançar seus objetivos, democráticos e socialistas.

Ratificando a conclusão sobre os 46 anos de existência e a longa experiência do proletariado mundial acerca da necessidade da organização revolucionária pela luta emancipadora dos trabalhadores, o Congresso derrotou os propósitos alistas da ditadura reacionária que pretendia sua liquidação por vias legais, bem como derrotou as pretensões desagregadoras do grupo antipartido.

Estabelecendo os Estatutos em vigor, o VI Congresso não alterou os princípios fundamentais nem as normas básicas da estrutura partidária, já alcançadas e renovadas desde o penúltimo Congresso. Partindo da valorização e reafirmação das conquistas adquiridas, levou em

conta a mudança ocorrida com o assalto ao poder pelo golpe militar de 1964, os problemas surgidos no desenvolvimento da luta de classes, as experiências do trabalho orgânico e da atividade da direção na clandestinidade, e condução da luta interna assegurando o pleno direito de divergir, a depuração do grupo fracionista, e nova orientação política a seguir, como os principais fatos que levaram a incluir na ordem-do-dia as propostas de modificações para os Estatutos vigentes.

Inicialmente, foi necessário abolir a duplicidade da versão estatutária do V Congresso. Nas condições do ano de 1960, havendo a possibilidade do pleiteio e registro legal, foi decidido alterar a versão original para atendimento da lei eleitoral, ficando difundida no Partido esta versão que atenda aos objetivos da legalização.

Agora, o VI Congresso estabeleceu nova versão com a nomenclatura partidária única e válida para o Partido Comunista Brasileiro. Em seguida, incorporou uma nova introdução que corresponde a uma afirmação de princípios.

É um resumo do conteúdo ideológico, político e organizativo sobre a natureza e os fins que definem o Partido Comunista Brasileiro.

Sublinhando a base da teoria marxista-leninista e o papel da consciência internacionalista, como orientadoras da sua formação e construção, nosso Partido chega aos 46 anos de existência fortalecendo sua concepção partidária.

O que se coloca na primeira disposição introdutória não é mero lugar-comum, é uma afirmativa do conteúdo sobre a nossa concepção de classe, que se orienta pelo estudo da ciência marxista e o conhecimento das leis do desenvolvimento histórico para aplicação à realidade brasileira. Tal critério é o ponto de partida para prosseguir com êxito a enfrentar a luta ideológica contra as tendências estranhas do dogmatismo ou reformismo dentro da organização partidária.

Nosso Partido se norteia pela doutrina do socialismo científico aplicado vigorosamente na tarefa parte do mundo atual.

O sistema socialista mundial vem fundamentando o meio século de

existência apoiado, sobretudo, na correspondência objetiva do desenvolvimento social da época da passagem do capitalismo ao socialismo. É a prática socialista se baseia na aplicação criadora da teoria revolucionária de Marx, Engels e Lênin, que se tornou uma ciência comprovadamente válida.

A Introdução salienta, ainda, a consciência dos princípios do internacionalismo proletário. Nesses orientamos também pelos ideais internacionalistas do marxismo-leninismo. A exploração e opressão imperialista é um sistema mundial que hoje está limitado pelas fronteiras do mundo capitalista, pela resistência dos trabalhadores nos países capitalistas e pelas lutas de libertação dos povos, ficando evidente sua natureza de reapagamento mundial. Desmascarando a espolição imperialista mundial, os ideais internacionalistas revelaram a necessidade da identificação dos interesses da classe operária internacional, ensinando a classe operária a considerar o mundo do ponto de vista do internacionalismo proletário.

Somos um Partido imbuido do ideal internacionalista, que serve à classe operária, ao povo e à Nação brasileira como a mais autêntica organização política dos patriotas da nossa nacionalidade.

O espírito de solidariedade internacional aos trabalhadores de todos os países e os deveres como partes do movimento comunista mundial pela causa da paz, da libertação nacional, da democracia e do socialismo, coincidem com os interesses nacionais da classe operária e do povo brasileiro.

Demonstrando seus laços internacionalistas, dezenas e dezenas de mensagens dos Partidos Comunistas irmãos foram apaludadas com o vivo entusiasmo nas sessões do Congresso.

E compreendendo que o centro dos ataques do imperialismo e da ditadura leonista se dirige contra as posições da União Soviética, simultaneamente com as campanhas do grupo antipartido, acobertado pelos divisionistas internacionais, o Congresso repeliu a propaganda anticomunista do anti-sovietismo, colocando-se sob a égide do clientelismo da Revolução de Outubro.

Foi destacada, entre outras, a mensagem do Partido Comunista da Vietnã do Norte e as palavras de ordem da nossa solidariedade ao heróico povo vietnamita que adquiriu atualidade preponderante.

Condenando a agressão e invasão norte-americana no Vietnã, o Congresso comprometeu-se a intensificar a campanha política de massas em solidariedade ao povo vietnamita como um dever internacionalista do nosso Partido.

Destacando a fusão da teoria revolucionária com a prática do movimento operário, a introdução passa a reafirmar a definição do Partido Comunista Brasileiro, como organização de combate que objetiva ao socialismo, ao comunismo, mas tem como tarefa imediata "unir as mais amplas forças antiimperialistas e democráticas para libertar o Brasil da dominação imperialista e da exploração latifundiária e conquistar o regime anelado e democrático".

Por toda esta etapa, sendo o Partido da classe mais revolucionária, que se propõe a abolir a sociedade dividida em classes, sua constituição e composição é ampla desde já, integrando operários, camponeses, intelectuais e demais pessoas de outras classes e camadas do povo brasileiro, que estejam dispostos a lutar pelos seus objetivos programáticos.

Por último, a experiência do VI Congresso reafirma que a luta contra a ditadura militar, pelas tarefas da etapa atual e a abertura para a democracia e o caminho socialista só pode ser levada a cabo sob a direção de um partido revolucionário, cuja estrutura, normas e métodos estejam baseados no princípio diretor do centralismo democrático.

Processam todos os que intentam abolir este princípio. Em todas as fases do processo revolucionário, a classe operária e o povo brasileiro necessitam de um partido centralizado e democrático, disciplinado e que exerça a atividade dirigente e organizativa em todos os embates da luta de classes.

Para fazer face às condições impostas pela clandestinidade, foi acrescentado um item aos deveres do membro do Partido. Constitui um dever para cada dirigente ou militante, cada organização, ter presente a necessidade de combinação do trabalho legal com o ilegal, a absorção das normas do segurança individual e coletiva, nos encontros e reuniões. Mantém vigilância em todos os aspectos das condições de legalidade e comportamento com firmeza diante do inimigo de classe.

No que diz respeito aos direitos da membros do Partido, foram mantidas as conquistas alcançadas e apenas um item foi simplificado para deixar de modo mais incisivo e explícito a garantia do direito de divergir sem infringir o princípio do centralismo democrático.

As alterações e acréscimos na estrutura do Partido buscam enfrentar os problemas da organização por setor profissional. Assim retirou o caráter de exceção para a admissão de organização de base por setor de intelectuais e profissionais liberais, ou quando é inviável a organização por empresa. A experiência indicou ao Congresso esta alteração como a forma mais justa de enfrentar, as necessidades de organização dos intelectuais e profissionais liberais nas condições bri-

deleiros. Os Estatutos foram modificados nesse artigo para facilitar a normalidade dessas organizações nos quadros partidários. Também foi disciplinada a criação de organizações por setor profissional, dando-se um tratamento flexível sem coartar com as deformações do setorismo.

Outras duas importantes medidas foram acrescentadas à estrutura partidária. A primeira, visando a corresponder à política de concentração na realidade brasileira, com sua extensão territorial e diversificação no desenvolvimento desigual das regiões, estatui os "órgãos especiais de direção" para atendimento de melhor coordenação do trabalho político e orgânico do centro dirigente. A segunda consagra a conquista da experiência do trabalho das seções do Comitê Central como órgãos auxiliares permanentes do trabalho de direção.

São duas medidas que ampliam a democracia interna e fortalecem os métodos da direção coletiva.

Levando em conta as dificuldades atuais, o Congresso alterou o prazo limite de cancelamento da filiação partidária, estendeu os prazos de realização das reuniões ordinárias dos órgãos intermediários e da Conferência e Congresso Nacionais, e alterou a percentagem de vagas nas cooptações.

Finalmente, foram feitas profundas modificações no trabalho de direção.

Estabeleceram-se novas condições para as mais elevadas funções da direção política do Partido, atribuindo-se nova função ao secretário-geral que passa a coordenar os trabalhos da Comissão Executiva.

Ampliaram-se novas atribuições ao secretário nacional, que também passa a responder pela direção política, aumentou sua composição, o que possibilita estreitar a coordenação do trabalho diretamente com as direções intermediárias.

Constituiu-se a Comissão Nacional de Controle, dotando-se de suas atribuições que democratizam o tratamento dos casos que surgirem nas relações da direção do Partido.

Tais são as breves referências aos Estatutos em vigor.

Os Estatutos aprovados pelo VI Congresso representam importante passo para a educação ideológica e fortalecimento orgânico do Partido. São meios de desenvolvimento do trabalho da direção coletiva, do tratamento do centralismo democrático, da utilização da crítica e da autocrítica, no uso e garantia dos direitos e na observância dos deveres, na política de seleção dos quadros e na construção do Partido.

A experiência demonstrou que o nosso Partido precisa se fortalecer organicamente em escala nacional, concentrando sua construção nas fábricas, usinas, empresas, entre as diversas camadas de trabalhadores, principalmente nas grandes empresas operárias e concentrações camponesas, que constituirão a base social mais firme do seu desenvolvimento orgânico e político.

De posse da Resolução Política e dos Estatutos, nosso Partido tem as rotas para a construção de um forte sistema de organizações partidárias ocasionadas pela unidade ideológica, orgânica e política em torno do seu centro dirigente e ligado às mais amplas massas do povo em suas lutas diárias pelo bem-estar, as liberdades e o progresso social.

# O que nos faz pensar êste 1.º de Maio

MURILO AZEVEDO

No dia 1.º de Maio próximo, os trabalhadores e o movimento sindical do Brasil comemorará sua data mais significativa recordando o seu passado de lutas e conquistas para comparar com o que ocorreu depois de 1.º de abril de 1964.

Poderão, talvez, nos decifrar da implantação da ditadura militar-repressiva, fazer um balanço completo e profundo dos direitos e conquistas que lhe foram arrebatados e como se procurou liquidar suas organizações sindicais.

Dessa comparação, que pode ser feita por cada trabalhador, restará que os autores do golpe de 1.º de abril de 1964 visaram, principalmente, a classe trabalhadora, suas conquistas, seus direitos e sua constante e crescente participação na luta de toda a nação por sua emancipação econômica e política.

É do domínio da história já escrita e comentada dos quatro anos do domínio da ditadura em nosso país, que uma das condições impostas pelos conspiradores para que o governo Goulart continuasse seria a de dissolver e perseguir o TUA, CGT e todos os atos unificadores dos trabalhadores.

Derrotado o governo Goulart e implantada a ditadura, o ataque às reivindicações, conquistas e direitos dos trabalhadores e o assalto a e intervenção nos organismos sindicais foram de uma ferocidade, cheia de ódio de classe, como jamais se havia visto em nosso país.

Então, caiu a máscara com que durante anos se procurou fazer crer que os sindicatos eram órgãos de "colaboração de classe", que a legislação social e trabalhista brasileira era a "melhor do mundo", etc. Uma a uma as conquistas e direitos foram sendo anulados e as organizações entraram sob intervenção. Os seus mais honestos e combativos dirigentes e militantes sindicais foram encarcerados, processados e perseguidos.

Fraçassou, porém, rotundamente essa política antipartidária e antissindical da ditadura. Durante qua-

tro anos ela não conseguiu nenhum apoio, apesar dos meios de propaganda que dispôs, da repressão, de se valer de seus "líderes e dirigentes" impostos às organizações sindicais sob intervenção.

A comemoração de 1.º de Maio é precedida da campanha contra o "arresto salarial", que é o signo mais característico da política "trabalhista e social" da ditadura. Assim, o 1.º de Maio se realiza em plena luta contra a política salarial do governo e pela liberdade e democracia sindical, que une e unirá os trabalhadores e suas organizações.

A celebração do 1.º de Maio poderá ser não somente mais uma etapa na reorganização do movimento operário e sindical do Brasil, mas um impulso sério para sua unificação e fortalecimento. Apesar as dificuldades por que tem atravessado, da repressão continuada dos órgãos governamentais e das tentativas dos interventores e dirigentes fiéis à ditadura, não houve desmoronamento nas fileiras sindicais. Os trabalhadores olaram o passado de lutas e de conquistas com respeito e intensificam a luta pela reconquista dos direitos perdidos, roubados pela ditadura. Querem suas organizações sindicais liberas, reorganizadas e reforçadas.

Os militantes do movimento operário e sindical, principalmente os seus elementos de vanguarda, têm que extrair lições e experiências desses quatro anos de repressão, perseguir e também de lutas.

Quais foram as profundas dificuldades do movimento sindical de antes do golpe militar de 1964? A expansão, amplitude crescente das lutas, da unidade e sua organização estavam solidamente enraizadas nos locais de trabalho? O efetivo sindical correspondia à crescente e diária mobilização dos trabalhadores? Apesar das lutas efetuadas que iam rompendo os diques e entraves da legislação sindical nos moldes corporativos do CLT, conseguiu-se liberar as sin-

dicações de suas múltiplas amarras do MTPS, que os mantiveram em certos aspectos fundamentais como organizações subordinadas aos órgãos governamentais?

A reorganização do movimento sindical brasileiro tem tarefas primordiais a cumprir: aumentar seus objetivos, levar com tenacidade a organização aos locais de trabalho, democratizar sua vida administrativa e torná-la independente do governo.

Neste 1.º de Maio em que se completam 25 anos de existência da Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho, surgem os comitêes suspensos dos que tornam que as leis sociais e trabalhistas foram outorgadas, dadas de graça, aos trabalhadores, como uma compensação e generosidade dos capitalistas e seus governos, notadamente o do Getúlio Vargas.

Não, porém, membros do Partido Comunista, partido dos trabalhadores, sabemos que antes de 1930 e mesmo antes de 1948, houve lutas muito sérias. As oito horas de trabalho diário, resultou de lutas. As melhorias de 32 ou 34, que precederam à Constituição de 1934, alaram o país. A previdência social também foi fruto de greves. A unidade operária e sindical rompeu o círculo estreito do corporativismo sindical.

Neste 1.º de Maio temos o dever de avaliar o valor da classe trabalhadora, suas lutas, seus militantes e dirigentes, sua atuação nas lutas emancipadoras da nação e do povo, sua importância decisiva na formação e atuação na frente da luta libertadora do país.

Apesar das dificuldades sofridas e da derrota de 1964, a classe trabalhadora se reergue, se alia, reorganiza suas forças, volta a atuar na vida econômica e política do país. Tem debilidades, dificuldades a superar. Mas tem imensas forças latentes que vão despoitando, que neste 1.º de Maio já se apresentam sob o signo de uma vitória certa.

# 1.º DE MAIO DE LUTA CONTRA A DITADURA

As comemorações do 1º de Maio deste ano deverão marcar um novo passo na luta dos trabalhadores pelos seus direitos e reivindicações e contra a ditadura.

Precedida de ampla campanha contra a política do arrocho salarial do governo e de grandes manifestações estudantis e populares em defesa das liberdades democráticas e contra a repressão terrorista da ditadura, as comemorações do 1º de Maio poderão representar um importante avanço na unidade de acção da classe operária, na unidade de acção de todas as forças antiterroristas.

A classe operária compreende cada vez melhor a necessidade de fortalecer sua unidade de acção na luta por suas reivindicações imediatas e específicas e de unir-se, ao mesmo tempo, às lutas das demais forças patrióticas e democráticas, empunhando a bandeira da conquista das liberdades, do combate à espolição, imperialista e à opressão latifundiária.

Os trabalhadores já começam a participar ativamente das manifestações estudantis e populares de repúdio à fétida liberdade da ditadura, que comemorou seu 4º aniversário dissolvendo a bala uma passadeira e assassinando um jovem estudante, na Guanabara, e desencadeando a repressão policial nas principais cidades do país.

Por tudo isto, o 1º de Maio deste ano não deverá ser apenas um dia de luta dos trabalhadores, da classe operária. Deverá ser um dia de luta de todo o nosso povo, cujos interesses fundamentais são espoliados pelas mãos da ditadura militar fascizante que ensanguenta e enluta os lares brasileiros.

Unidos às massas camponesas, aos estudantes, à intelectualidade, unidos a todas as forças contrárias à ditadura, e fortalecendo a solidariedade internacional do proletariado, os trabalhadores brasileiros farão do próximo 1.º de Maio um dia de luta contra a política de arrocho salarial, pelas liberdades democráticas e sindicais, pela derrota da ditadura, pela liberdade do heróico povo vietnamita.

Com essa clara compreensão da importância e do importante significado político do 1º de Maio, os comunistas deverão planificar em todos os escalões sua contribuição efetiva para o maior brilhantismo das comemorações do Dia Internacional dos Trabalhadores.

É dever de cada comunista, de cada organização partidária, concentrar seus esforços e redobrar sua atividade, — participando desde agora das manifestações estudantis e populares de repúdio à ditadura, — para que essas manifestações se desenvolvam, se multipliquem, somando-se às grandes comemorações do 1º de Maio.

## A Crise do Dólar

(Continuação da 2ª página)

salários e vendendo a preços mais baixos que seus competidores dos países para os quais se deslocavam. Ao mesmo tempo, a taxa pouco atraente de reconversão da moeda local em dólar tornou-se um fator de estímulo ao reinvestimento dos lucros no próprio país onde eles se produzem. Nesse mecanismo assestou-se um elemento motor do extraordinário impulso revelado pelas inversões norte-americanas no estrangeiro, nas últimas décadas.

Há contudo o reverso da medalha. Essa estratégia eterna transformou-se numa corrente de dólares para o exterior, que acentuou a tendência deficitária do balanço de pagamento dos Estados Unidos. Não foi apenas a inversão de capitais no exterior, mais lucrativa, que se intensificou. Tudo se tornou mais vantajoso no estrangeiro. Os empréstimos de dólares que custeava a produção de um filme em Hollywood dão para fazer dois filmes na Itália ou na França; a empresa produtora, naturalmente, prefere reunir o dinheiro e gastá-lo fora dos Estados Unidos. Uma viagem do México à Europa ou à América Latina fica mais barata que um passeio na Califórnia, para um moreador em Nova York. Tudo isso somado elevou o déficit acumulado do balanço de pagamento dos Estados Unidos a 40 bilhões de dólares, de 1951 a 1967.

A longo prazo, naturalmente, esse sistema é condenado à crise. O avanço do inflação nos Estados Unidos não passa despercebido aos banqueiros e outros guardadores de dinheiro que, em todo o mundo, se fia na garantia de conversão do dólar em ouro, à taxa fixada em 1934, e acumula em dólar. Sua confiança diminui, uma vez que, mais dia menos dia, a lei do valor tende que vigorar. Eles passam gradualmente a dar preferência ao ouro. Sua atitude tomase de desconfiança aberta, à medida que aumentam os déficits do balanço de pagamento dos Estados Unidos com o exterior e que se tornam patente que este país está pagando com papel-moeda emitido sem lastro real os bens que ad-

quire no exterior. A gradual e constante redução da reserva do ouro norte-americano refletiu esse comprometimento inevitável do mercado financeiro internacional. Um número cada vez maior de pessoas, organizações e países passou a exigir dos Estados Unidos o cumprimento da promessa de transformar dólares em ouro.

Esse compromisso de converter sua moeda em ouro no padrão de 35 dólares por "onça" tornou-se uma obrigação sempre mais pesada para os Estados Unidos. O favor que alguns governos recémes fizeram a Washington, convertendo em dólares suas reservas de ouro, não foi de grande valia. Em toda a América Latina, o Tesouro nunca não conseguiu recolher mais do que o correspondente a um bilhão de dólares em barras de ouro, para reforçar as reservas de Fort Knox. (Nesse particular, os governos brasileiros tiveram um papel destacado durante esse período, entregaram mais de dezentes toneladas de ouro ao governo dos Estados Unidos, em troca de dólares grandes.) O preço artificialmente baixo fixado para o ouro desorganizou a produção aurífera, determinando o fechamento de minas de produção desse metal em todo o mundo. (Também aí o Brasil sofreu, reduzindo-se praticamente a zero sua produção do ouro.) Tornou-se cada vez mais difícil repor em Fort Knox o ouro que os Estados Unidos eram obrigados a trocar por dólar. Suas reservas de metal esgotaram ano a ano. Em 23 bilhões de dólares em 1948 encolheram até 20 bilhões em 1958 e até 11 bilhões, atualmente.

No ano em curso, a redução do ritmo do desenvolvimento da economia norte-americana e os altos custos da guerra do Vietnã vieram acelerar esse longo processo de debilitamento do dólar. No quinquênio terminando em 67, a economia dos Estados Unidos registrou índices de crescimento enormes, pela se suas propensões. Isto proporcionou um lastro para a elevação dos meios de pagamento em circulação, que compensava ou distorgava em parte os efeitos da inflação, contribuindo para aliviar a ansiedade dos en-

tesoureiros de dólares. Já em 1968, sentido da desvalorização dessa moeda, os povos norte-americanos são bastante pessimistas quanto à possibilidade do sustento da situação de um ritmo de crescimento comparável ao dos últimos cinco anos.

O "alôcio" do Vietnã, que já custa perto de 30 bilhões de dólares por ano e não apresenta perspectivas de alívio a curto prazo, dentro da atual política dos Estados Unidos, agregase a aquele fator interno para somar a atmosfera de crise em torno do dólar. Não por acaso, a atual corrida ao ouro, em todo o mundo, segue-se imediatamente a uma baixa prolongada e especulativa nas cotações da Bolsa de Nova York e no Edifício da "vietnam" de San Francisco, que põe por terra os sonhos de uma vitória próxima dos Estados Unidos no Vietnã e, conseqüentemente, de um alívio no orçamento e no balanço de pagamentos do governo norte-americano.

É de se crer que tanto os Estados Unidos quanto seus aliados no campo imperialista farão tudo o possível para contornar uma desvalorização do dólar, e ainda dispõem de recursos para evitar que o atual clima de pânico em torno dessa moeda se generalize e lhes tome as rédeas do mercado financeiro capitalista, pelo menos a curto prazo. O interesse norte-americano em defender o dólar, naturalmente, é maior, uma vez que assim se preserva o valor atribuído aos investimentos estrangeiros em todo o mundo. Mas esse interesse se junta ao dos demais países do sistema imperialista, uma vez que a "febre" do ouro põe em jogo também a capacidade dos governos desses países de assegurar a convertibilidade de suas moedas. A falta de confiança no dólar se estende às demais moedas, refletindo-se no debilitamento das reservas de ouro das diversos governos dessa área, com a transferência do metal para as mãos de particulares. Desse modo, todo o sistema de livre convertibilidade que vige no mercado financeiro dos principais países capitalistas fica ameaçado.

Sejam quais forem os expedientes que adote para defender o dólar, entretanto, o governo dos Estados Unidos continuará sob a pressão dos fatores permanentes que atuam no

Suas alternativas (aumento de impostos, compressão de importações, limitação na corrente de dólares para o exterior) são precárias, ou difíceis de pôr em prática, dada a resistência que encontram nos Estados Unidos, ou ainda provocam maior perturbação e dificuldades no intercâmbio do país com o exterior. O modo à recessão econômica, segundo as receitas "keynesianas", incita a maiores investimentos do Estado, paralelamente com uma redução, e não aumento, de impostos. Os interesses oriundos no exterior pressionam no sentido de subsidiar e socorrer regimes reacionários, anticomunistas, à influência dos Estados Unidos. A guerra do Vietnã, por sua vez, exige gastos cada dia maiores: a revista "Newsweek" calcula em seis bilhões de dólares o custo suplementar que representaria o reforço de 206 mil homens reclamado pelo comando norte-americano em Saigão.

As conseqüências da crise do dólar no Brasil já se fazem sentir, e poderão multiplicar-se. Ela é a causa básica da dificuldade crescente que o governo brasileiro encontra para obter créditos e financiamentos nos Estados Unidos. Também decorre dela a agressividade maior demonstrada pelos Estados Unidos na defesa de sua produção interna contra a concorrência estrangeira, que se somou de modo tão ostensivo na questão do café solvel e pode afetar também a exportação de certos produtos manufaturados brasileiros que atualmente encontram escoamento no mercado norte-americano. A evolução da crise continuará afetando em escala crescente o governo brasileiro e todo o sistema econômico dominante no país. Embora uma eventual desvalorização do dólar possa beneficiar em alguns aspectos (aumento do valor atribuído às reservas-ouro do país e, principalmente, alta dos preços em dólar dos produtos de exportação brasileira), ela implica a ameaça de desorganização de todo o mercado financeiro imperialista. Para um governo, como o brasileiro, que assenta sua política na perspectiva de completa integração da economia brasileira no sistema imperialista dirigido pelos Estados Unidos, essa é uma ameaça de mais perigos.

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 4/26/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: (C) SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Communist Party of Sweden."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished on April 16, 1968, by CG 5824-S\* to SA WALTER A. BOYLE.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information appearing therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels regarding the international communist movement, and thus adversely affect the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

CG 5824-S\* advised that the Norwegian referred to in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was ARNE PETERSEN, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Norway.

AGENCY

DATE FORW. 4/30/68

HOW FORW. BY

BY WAB

WAB:MDW  
(4)

ENCLOSURE

EX-105

- 100-904 9andD
- ②-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
  - 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
  - 1-Chicago

MAY 1 1968



98 MAY 7 1968

1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

April 26, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN

During April, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

A leading member of the Communist Party of Norway (CPN) recently commented on the position of the Communist Party of Sweden (CPS) concerning the current differences in the world communist movement. Recent discussions with C. H. Hermansson, Chairman of the CPS, revealed the following attitude:

The CPS does not want to separate itself from the world communist movement in spite of the fact that the CPS did not attend the recent Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Budapest, Hungary. Hermansson was said to have told the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), when attendance at the Consultative Meeting was broached, that the CPS wants to maintain a certain distance from the CPSU in order to be able to pursue its own tactical maneuvers. The CPS does not want to totally separate itself from the Moscow oriented movement, but believes that it could make more progress in the Swedish elections if there is a certain distance between the CPS and the CPSU. Hermansson promised the CPSU that after the elections in Sweden, the CPS would move closer to the CPSU.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-6911



COMMUNIST PARTY OF SWEDEN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

According to this Norwegian, there is a rumor that after the Swedish elections, Hermansson will bring the CPS to the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. However, some suspect that Hermansson's actions are more than mere tactics and that Hermansson is really anti-Russian.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

5/6/68

EA-110 REC-43

Director, FBI (100-428091) 69/2 1 - Mr. R.C. Putnam

ST  
H  
SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 5/1/68.

Authority is granted to send Special Agent Walter A. Boyle, contacting Agent for CG 5824-S\*, to informant's point of arrival in the United States as soon as specific date and place of arrival are known. If Special Agent Boyle is unavailable, his alternate, Special Agent Robert A. Villemure, is authorized to go.

Debriefing of informant must be handled expeditiously and the Bureau immediately advised by teletype of pertinent intelligence data developed by informant while on Solo Mission 26.

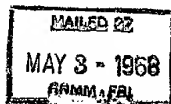
1 - Mr. M.F. Row (6221 IB)

RCP:jms  
(5)

## NOTE:

CG 5824-S\* departed on Solo Mission 26 April 17, 1968, to participate in meeting of international communist movement in Budapest, Hungary, starting April 24, 1968, and to go to Moscow to discuss political developments in United States with Soviets. Intelligence data informant should develop will be of extreme interest to top officials of our Government. As in previous missions, Chicago recommends that contacting Agent meet source at point of entry to extract highlights of trip expeditiously before informant's presence in United States is known to top leaders of CP, USA. Estimated cost \$204.79. SAs Boyle and Villemure are completely familiar with names, dates and places in international communist movement and presence of either will greatly facilitate debriefing.

pen  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

98 MAY 7 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 5/1/68

As the Bureau is aware, CG 5824-S\* is currently abroad on Solo Mission 26, having departed New York City on April 17, 1968. The purpose of this mission is for CG 5824-S\* to attend the meeting of the Preparatory Commission for an International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties which was to convene in Budapest, Hungary, on April 24, 1968, and a possible subsequent visit to Moscow, USSR, for discussions on developments concerning the political situation in the U.S. and the CP, USA.

Although the length of these Solo Missions is never precisely predictable, it is felt that CG 5824-S\* will be abroad from three weeks to a month which will fix his arrival date in the U.S. sometime around May 12, 1968.

While on this mission, CG 5824-S\* will undoubtedly participate in meetings with numerous communist leaders concerning activities of the international communist movement and other matters of concern to the U.S. Upon his return to the U.S., CG 5824-S\* has in the past spent time briefing members of the CP, USA leadership in New York City. Consequently, intensive debriefing of CG 5824-S\* should be initiated immediately on his arrival in the U.S. to insure that the Bureau has first access to the information in his possession without extensive delay. In order to insure completeness and accuracy of all information received from CG 5824-S\* and in order to expedite the handling and dissemination of this information in a manner advantageous to the Government, it is considered essential that this debriefing be carried out by the contacting agent. Therefore, the agents handling CG 5824-S\* have been alerted and are prepared to take the necessary action for the initiation of immediate debriefing of this source. From past

- ②-Bureau (RM) (AM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info)  
1-Chicago

EX-110

REC-43

100-428091-11

4 MAY 6 1968

RAV:MDW  
(4)



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 134-46 Sub B

experience, it is believed that CG 5824-S\* most likely will enter the U.S. at Boston, Massachusetts, and after a brief stop there will probably proceed to New York City for conferences with the CP, USA leadership and with NY 694-S\*. If the contacting agent proceeds to the informant's point of entry into the U.S., discreet and secure contact will be made there thus enabling immediate debriefing and expeditious handling of the most pertinent intelligence information in his possession. This debriefing would then continue in New York City both prior to and during the period the informant is conferring in New York City.

#### RECOMMENDATION

In view of the above, it is recommended that the contacting agent, SA WALTER A. BOYLE, or if unavailable the alternate contacting agent, SA ROBERT A. VILLEMURE, be authorized to proceed to the informant's point of entry into the U.S. as soon as specific information is received as to the informant's destination. If this travel is authorized, the estimated cost to the Bureau is as follows if the informant arrives at Boston and proceeds to New York City before his return to Chicago:

Jet coach air transportation from Chicago to Boston to New York City and return.....	\$109.79
Per diem at \$16 per day for approxi- mately five days.....	80.00
Ground transportation at Chicago, Boston, and New York City.....	15.00
Total	\$204.79

DATE 01-24-2012

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE ~~ON~~ ENVELOPE

REC-27

## Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 4/26/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies each and for the New York Office one copy each of three letterhead memoranda entitled as follows:

"Former Americans Residing in Hungary"

"Edward Royce"

"Communist Party, USA Financial Aid to Latin-American Communist Parties"

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memoranda was orally furnished on April 16, 1968, by CG 5824-S\* to SA WALTER A. BOYLE.

The enclosed letterhead memoranda have been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, and thus adversely affect the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memoranda have been shown as being prepared at Washington, D.C.

EX-115

REC-27

ENCLOSURE

1-904 2-Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 3) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(4)

4 MAY 2 1968



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

April 26, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FORMER AMERICANS RESIDING IN HUNGARY

During April, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During early March, 1968, the following individuals who are former Americans residing in Hungary were known to be in Budapest performing voluntary services in connection with the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties being held in that city.

~~NAME~~  
Grace and ~~Emil~~ Gardos were working in a wing of the Gellert Hotel doing translation work. It was learned that when Grace Gardos returned to Hungary, she was not given her old job back. She had been doing research work on the role of the Hungarian people in the United States and in the United States labor movement. However, this research was discontinued and Grace Gardos was retired at two-thirds of her former pay. Her husband, Emil Gardos, had been retired sometime previously. The son of Emil and Grace Gardos was working in the unit which was giving simultaneous translations of the proceedings of the Consultative Meeting. He had been recently divorced.

Another former American assisting the work of the meeting was Grace Strickland. She was in charge of all the English-speaking technical workers, such as clerks, typists, etc. Other former Americans known to be doing such work were [redacted] whose normal duties are in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Publications Department which publishes Party books, [redacted] who has retired, and Louis Weinstock. b6 b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

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declassification~~

100-42807/491



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

April 26, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EDWARD ROYCE

During April, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It has been learned that Edward Royce, a 72-year-old former American residing in the German Democratic Republic (GDR), wishes to marry a 65-year-old German widow who was once an inmate of a Nazi concentration camp. After Royce made a \$100 contribution to the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA), the CP, USA furnished a letter to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) stating that even though this was a personal matter, the CP, USA wished to make it known that it had no objection to Royce staying in the GDR and marrying this woman. *B. April 1, 1968*

The SUPG has informed the CP, USA that Royce has some money in banks in the United States and United States money is sent to Royce in the GDR. Royce goes to West Berlin and uses the United States money to make purchases, obtaining more for his money than he could in East Berlin. The SUPG indicated that it is not pleased with this practice. The SUPG would like Royce to transfer his money to banks in the GDR. A further aggravation for the SUPG authorities is the fact that Royce does not yet have a divorce from his current wife in the United States and he does not want to return to the United States to obtain a divorce because he says this will cost him \$1,000. Nevertheless, a SUPG official indicated that because of the letter from the CP, USA, Royce will be permitted to live with this German widow even without a divorce and without transferring his money to GDR banks.

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declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428071-1713



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

April 26, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA FINANCIAL AID TO  
LATIN-AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

During April, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During the course of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Budapest, Hungary, from February 26 to March 5, 1968, a delegation from the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) was in contact with delegations from a number of Latin-American countries. It was learned that Gus Hall, General Secretary and head of the CP, USA delegation, furnished an unknown amount of financial assistance to delegations from the following Parties: the Brazilian Communist Party, the Party of the People's Unity of Haiti, and the People's Party of Panama.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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ENCLOSURE  
100-42491-6913



OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 4/29/68

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Speeches Delivered at Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, Budapest, Hungary, by Delegates from Ceylon and Poland."

The information in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was received by SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE on April 24, 1968, from CS CG 6651-S, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in two identical envelopes postmarked March 4, 1968, Budapest, Hungary, addressed to a Chicago mail drop in the name of JOHN SHOULDERS, in care of New Day Books, 3230 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois, USA, maintained for CG 5824-S\*.

Information in the letterhead memorandum was also furnished by CG 5824-S\* during March, 1968, to SA BOYLE to the effect that during the Consultative Meeting held February 26 to March 5, 1968, delegates from various Parties present addressed the meeting. It was his belief that speeches made by delegates from countries where the Communist Party (CP) is the ruling Party were published in full text in their own countries; however, only partial excerpts were published of speeches by delegates from other CPs.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" in order to protect the identity of CG 5824-S\* who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize his security, thus adversely affecting the national security.

It is not known by this office whether the full text of either of these speeches has been made public in the English language; nevertheless, it is believed necessary to classify

- 1-904 9HP  
2-Bureau (Enc. 12)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 3) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago  
RAV:MDW  
(4)



98 MAY 16 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 134-46 Sub B

this letterhead memorandum "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" in view of the form of the attachments thereto which are exactly as received through the mail drop with the exception of the obliteration of certain identifying numbers on the originals.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as being prepared at Washington, D. C.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

April 29, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SPEECHES DELIVERED AT CONSULTATIVE MEETING  
OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES, BUDAPEST,  
HUNGARY, BY DELEGATES FROM CEYLON AND POLAND

During March and April, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, made available the following information:

During the period February 26 to March 5, 1968, there was held in Budapest, Hungary, a Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. During the course of this meeting, delegates from the various Parties present addressed the gathering. In almost all cases, these speeches were delivered by the heads of the delegations.

Attached hereto are copies of two speeches delivered at the Consultative Meeting by delegates from the Communist Party of Ceylon and the Polish United Workers' Party.

- 1) Communist Party of Ceylon delivered on Tuesday, February 27, 1968; the head of this delegation was Pieter Keuneman, General Secretary;
- 2) Polish United Workers' Party delivered on Tuesday, February 27, 1968; the head of this delegation was Zenon Kliszko, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee.

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Attachments

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100-428021-1314  
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

REC-52

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 4/30/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

On 4/29/68, there was received at a New York City drop a letter from WILLIAM KASHTAN, head of the Canadian CP, to CG 5824-S\*. The content of the letter is as follows:

"Dear M:

"We have a simple request from our Panama friends which they asked us to convey to you. They would like to be put on the mailing list for the Worker and ask it be sent in an envelope first class to:

"JOSE TUNNON  
Box 7057  
Panama 5, Panama

"All the best,

"K"

(According to NY 694-S\*, "Panama friends" referred to above is a reference to the CP of Panama.)

- 1-904, 9+2  
2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago (Sub B) (RM)  
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (CI)  
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb  
(6)

b7D

cx-110

REC-52

100-428091-6916

4 MAY 7 1968

58



9 MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 4/30/68

*R. J. [unclear]*  
*Re [unclear]*

ReCGlet dated March 29, 1968, regarding efforts to locate suitable replacements and/or assistants for Solo informants.

During April, 1968, [redacted] advised that he has been unable to continue his contact with JACK KLING, State Secretary, CP of Illinois, the past month because of circumstances beyond his control, the Chicago riots resulting from the assassination of MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. He advised that [redacted] is located in the immediate vicinity of one of the riot areas on the West Side of Chicago. Although he suffered no destruction of property during the riots, it did cause him a great deal of apprehension and an extraordinary amount of time had to be spent [redacted] because of the tension in the neighborhood.

b7D

He advised he made an effort to contact KLING on one occasion at which time he was advised that KLING was not available.

PSI stated that he and his wife [redacted] from the KLINGS [redacted] which he hopes to fulfill very soon. He stated he anticipates that he will receive replies to the thank you notes that he and his wife sent to MEIR VILNER, General Secretary, CP of Israel (pro-Arab) and EMIL HABIBI, a member of the Politburo, CP of Israel (pro-Arab) for their courtesy while PSI and his wife were in Israel. He said it would be very fortunate for him if he should receive these replies from either VILNER or HABIBI or both prior to his meeting with the KLINGS because it will present some good avenues of conversation.

b7D

1-904  
2-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW  
(4)

EX-110 REC-52

4 MAY 7 1968



98 MAY 7 1968

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CG 134-46 Sub B

PSI has been encouraged to contact KLING again to [ ] the KLINGS made [ ] and he will be thoroughly briefed by knowledgeable Bureau Agents from Chicago who will guide and direct his conversation and discussions with KLING.

JACK KLING was contacted by [ ] concerning his business prospectus and was advised by KLING that [ ] an individual [ ] for the CP, USA, would contact him about this matter. He has also been advised to continue his contacts with KLING in order to set up an appointment with [ ] if [ ] does not approach him on this subject very shortly.

b7D

The Chicago Office has reopened the case on [ ] to re-evaluate his potential as an informant under the Solo replacement or assistant program and the Bureau will be advised under separate communication.

b7D

Chicago will continue to be aggressive but circumspect in counseling, guiding, and directing the activities of [ ] and [ ] Chicago efforts to locate suitable replacements and/or assistants for the Solo informants will be vigorously pursued and the Bureau will be kept advised.

b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub F)

SX SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: 5/1/68

ReCGlet dated April 5, 1968.

Set forth below is an accounting of Solo and Reserve Funds transactions during April, 1968:

## Balance on hand, April 1, 1968

### Solo Funds

\$137,237.13

### Reserve Funds

\$ 7,248.61

Total \$144,485.74

## Additions

### Solo Funds

None

### Reserve Funds

None

- 1-904 91D
- 2-Bureau (RM)
  - 2-New York (RM)
  - (1 - 100-134637) (SOLO)
  - (1 - 100-128861) (CP, USA - Reserve Funds)
  - 1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(5)



98 MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

CG 134-46 Sub F

Disbursements

Solo Funds

On 4/7/68 to GUS HALL for expenses in connection with fares of dele- gates to Industrial Concentration Meeting in Chicago, Illinois, 4/6-7/68	\$ 2,000.00
On 4/8/68 reimbursement to CG 5824-S* for out-of-pocket expenses for GUS HALL and family during stay in Chicago, 4/4-7/68	901.53
On 4/10/68 to CG 5824-S* for partial expenses of Solo Mission 26	<u>500.00</u>
Total	\$ 3,401.53

Reserve Funds

None

Balance on hand, May 1, 1968

Solo Funds

\$133,835.60

Reserve Funds

\$ 7,248.61

Total \$141,084.21

Location of Funds - Chicago Office Territory  
as of May 1, 1968

Solo Funds

Maintained by Chicago Office in safety deposit box #C1362, LaSalle National Bank, Chicago, Illinois, with access limited to SAC and ASAC	\$ 85,166.55
---	--------------



CG 134-46 Sub F

Maintained by CG 5824-S\* in safe  
in his office at Arisco Associates,  
Inc., 25 East Washington Street,  
Chicago, Illinois \$ 38,669.05

Maintained in Arisco Associates,  
Inc., checking account at Michigan  
Avenue National Bank, Chicago,  
Illinois, with access by [REDACTED]  
and CG 5824-S\* \$ 5,000.00

Maintained in Arisco Associates,  
Inc., checking account at First  
National Bank of Lincolnwood,  
Lincolnwood, Illinois, with access  
by [REDACTED] and CG 5824-S\* \$ 5,000.00

Total \$133,835.60

Reserve Funds

Maintained by Chicago Office in  
safety deposit box #C1362, LaSalle  
National Bank, Chicago, Illinois,  
with access by SAC and ASAC \$ 6,150.00

Maintained by CG 5824-S\* in safe  
in his office at Arisco Associates,  
Inc., 25 East Washington Street,  
Chicago, Illinois \$ 1,098.61

Total \$ 7,248.61

Total funds on hand \$141,084.21

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/2/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

On May 1, 1968, [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised SA ROBERT A. VILLEMURE that upon previous instructions from CG 5824-S\*, he purchased three books and on April 29, 1968, sent them to the following address: Professor D. SIRINOV, Main Post Office Box 341, Moscow, USSR. This is the mail drop box utilized by the CP of the Soviet Union.

Source advised that each of the three books were sent under separate cover and are as follows:

- 1) C. WRIGHT MILLS, "The Power Elite," compiled by G. WILLIAM DOMHOFF and HOYT B. BALLARD;
- 2) "The Corporate Ideal in the Libertarian Style," by JAMES WEINSTEIN;
- 3) "Black Power Revolution" by EDWARD BARBER.

Source advised that he utilized the Chicago drop address of N. HANSEL, Post Office Box 7363, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

EX-115  
1-964, 9+10  
②-Bureau (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
2-Chicago  
(1 - A) [redacted]

RAV:MDW  
(5)

b7D

100-428091-6918  
16 MAY 7 1968



98 MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/3/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

Remylet 3/5/68.

The records of the NYO reflect the following information regarding the SOLO Funds during the period 4/1/68-4/30/68.

4/1/68 On hand as of 3/31/68 \$767,944.32

## Credits

4/20/68 NY 694-S\* received from  
the Soviets

500,000.00  
Total \$1,267,944.32

## Debits

None during April, 1968.

## Balance

Total on hand as of 4/30/68 \$1,267,944.32

Location of SOLO Funds  
New York Territory

Safe Deposit Box, Chemical  
Bank, New York Trust Company,  
67 Broad Street, NY, NY

10,000.00

1-904, 9+8  
2<sup>1</sup>-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)

1-Chicago (134-46 SUB F) (AM RM)

1-New York (100-128861 SUB B) (CP USA RESERVE FUND) (41)

1-New York (134-91) (INV.) (41)

1-New York (100-134637) (41)

ACB:far  
(7)

16 MAY 7 1968



98 MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637

JACK BROOKS Regular Checking  
Account, Chemical Bank New  
York Trust Company, 20 Pine  
St., NY, NY

Account No. 1 (001-228919)	13,259.28
Account No. 2 (001-232835)	31,507.26
Account No. 3 (001-237942)	48,677.78

Six blank checks (two each drawn  
on the above accounts) Signed  
"JACK BROOKS", are maintained in  
the safe of the SAC of Division IV,  
NY.

NY 694-S* Personal Checking Account, Chemical Bank, NY Trust Company, 67 Broad Street, NY, NY	4,000.00
--	----------

Maintained by NYC-FBI

Safe Deposit Boxes, Manufacturers  
Hanover Trust Company,  
69th Street and Third Avenue,  
NY, NY

	<u>\$1,160,500.00</u>
Total	<u><u>\$1,267,944.32</u></u>

VIA TELETYPE

MAY 4 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

8:41PM URGENT 5-4-68 TAB

TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO

SOLO: IS-C

ON INSTANT DATE CHICAGO OFFICE RECEIVED THE FOLLOWING  
MESSAGE FROM CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR - S ASTERISK TO ABNER  
LESSER, ONE ZERO EIGHT GENTRY COURT ROSELLE, ILLINOIS "SKIP  
PARIS MONTREAL ARRIVE SIXTH SWISSAIR FLIGHT ONE SIX ZERO OHARE  
ONE SEVEN ONE FIVE. SYD"

CHICAGO WILL ADVISE BUREAU BY TT OF SOURCES ARRIVAL AND  
COMMENCE DEBRIEFING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. EX-115

BUREAU WILL BE APPROPRIATELY ADVISED.

END

REC-21

16 MAY 7 1968

RECEIVED: 9:53PM LRC

RELAYED TO

NY

98 MAY 15 1968

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

5/7/68

EX-115

Director, FBI (100-428091) 6921

1 - Mr. O'Rourke  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurlet 5/1/68 which advised of receipt of a booklet from the Information Service of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, entitled "5th Session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on 21 March 1968 in Berlin--For a World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Autumn 1968--Speech by the Head of the Delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Erich Honecker, to the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest on 28 February 1968."

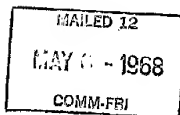
Furnish the Bureau two copies of this booklet.

RCP:cst  
(5)

## NOTE:

Booklet received at Solo mail drop in Chicago. Research-Satellite Section desires copy to review. Copy will be furnished CIA.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



98 MAY 15 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

DATE: 5/1/68

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT:

SOLO  
IS-C

On May 1, 1968, the Chicago Office received an air mail communication for CG 5824-S\* which had been transmitted by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG) to a Solo drop box maintained by the Chicago Office. This communication was addressed to N. Hansel, Box 7363, Chicago, Ill, 60680 USA. It bore the return address of VERLAG ZEIT IM BILD, DDR-801 Dresden, Fritz-Heckert-Platz 10, and was postmarked Dresden, April 24, 1968.

The contents of this communication consisted of two copies of a booklet from the Information Service of the SUPG. The booklet dated 4/1968 was entitled, "5th Session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on 21 March 1968 in Berlin--For a World Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties in Autumn 1968--Speech by the Head of the Delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Erich Honecker, to the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest on 28 February 1968."

In the event the Bureau desires to obtain copies of this 64-page booklet, Chicago will be aware of the location of this booklet for transmittal to the Bureau.

The original copies of this booklet will be turned over to CG 5824-S\* when available for transmittal to GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA.

2-Bureau (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Info)

1-Chicago

RAV:MDW  
(4)

REC-21

EX-115

16 MAY 7 1968



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

DATE: APR 29 1968

Enclosed herewith for the information of the Bureau and the New York Office is one Xerox copy each of two "The Hungarian News Agency's International News Review" dated March 1 and 3, 1968, and the discussions and contributions made on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, February 28 to March 1, 1968, concerning the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Budapest, Hungary, February 26 to March 5, 1968.

On April 24, 1968 SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE received from [redacted] five envelopes post-marked March 4, 1968, at Budapest, Hungary, which bore no return address. These envelopes were addressed to a Chicago drop address in the name of JOHN SHOULDERS, in care of New Day Books, 3230 North Broadway, Chicago, Illinois, maintained for CG 5824-S\*.

All of these items discussed the subject of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties then in session in Budapest.

These items will be furnished to CG 5824-S\* when he is available for eventual transmittal to GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA.

- 1-904
- 2-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 5) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW  
(4)

REC-23

EX-115

100-428091-6922  
16 MAY 8 1968



98 MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637)

5/9/68

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

*ST*  
*PI* *0*  
**SOLO**  
**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

A special document is being prepared at the Seat of Government on Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA. This document is not intended for dissemination. It will seek to have, in one document, all available evidence that Hall is an opportunist using the Party and the Soviets to his own advantage and it will serve as a repository for anti-Soviet statements made by Hall. It will also contain derogatory statements made by Hall about other communist countries, communist leaders, and members of the Communist Party, USA.

At an appropriate time, NY 694-S\* and CG 5824-S\* should be requested to furnish their recollections concerning the points mentioned above.

New York and Chicago should insure that all such statements made by Hall are furnished the Bureau. Utilize instant caption when the source of the information is either NY 694-S\* or CG 5824-S\*.

2 - Chicago (134-46)

RCP:cst  
(6)

NOTE:

A detailed document concerning the information set out above is being prepared in a form which would have a most disruptive effect if brought to Hall's attention. It will contain information from sensitive sources and it is not proposed that this information be disseminated. However, the information should be available in the event it is needed.

MAILED 10  
MAY 9 1968  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*pen*

*11*  
**51 MAY 13 1968**

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

EX 109  
REC-38

100-428091-6923

*JB*  
**15 MAY 9 1968**

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

DIRECTOR, FBI (65-57387)

b7D

5/7/68

SAC, NEW YORK

NY 4309-S\*

ReBulet, 3/19/68 and NYlet, 3/8/68.

Since the submission of referenced New York letter, NY 4309-S\* has been approached by NY 694-S\* concerning the proposed visit to the Soviet Union and has come to an agreement with NY 694-S\* to make this trip sometime after the first of the year. This accord was made by NY 4309-S\* on 3/28/68 and is completely agreeable to NY 694-S\*. NY 4309-S\* volunteered to make a quick trip to Russia for a period of two or three days during his planned European vacation this Summer, however, NY 694-S\* stated that this would not meet the Soviet needs and it is tentatively set up that NY 4309-S\*' visit in 1969 will be for a period of approximately two weeks. It was also arranged that the trip would be made by the informant under an assumed name to be supplied by NY 694-S\*. NY 694-S\* has advised that he is pleased with the developments being made.

In order to prepare NY 4309-S\*, NY 694-S\* met with the informant on 4/25/68 and set up an arrangement whereby NY 4309-S\* will make delivery of any radio messages received by means of drops located in mid-town Manhattan. Three drops were selected by NY 694-S\*, NY 4309-S\* having set up the drop sites for NY 694-S\*' approval. NY 4309-S\* will now have the messages typed by his wife, transfer the message to film on a Ilinox camera, and then place in the drop. A complete schedule has been worked out for making the drop and for advising NY 694-S\* that the drop has been made. This will speed up delivery of the message and will afford NY 4309-S\* the added experience to bolster his position with the Russians.

b7D

③ - Bureau (RM)

(1) - 100-428091 (SOLO)

1 - New York (100-134637-Sub C)(41)

1 - New York

1 - New York

(41)

100-428091  
NOT RECORDED  
20 MAY 9 1968

PMB:rmp

59 MAY 13 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 65-57387-138

[redacted]

NY 4309-S\* has advised that his current income is approximately \$11,000.00 per year and that the firm that he works for has no pension facilities. His only means of income on retirement is from Social Security plus a small amount, approximately \$150.00 from savings. He currently plans to work for approximately another five years before retiring.

At present, arrangements for his participation in the SOLO apparatus have been geared to allow him to continue at his current employment. The radio schedules have been set so that he can receive any messages sent and still report to work on time. The schedule for delivery of messages by means of drops has also been set so that he can leave his place of employment, make the drops and not place his position in jeopardy. He is also confident that he can arrange a leave of absence from his employer so that he can make the proposed trip to the Soviet Union after the first of the year, and still continue as before. It will not be until he has returned from the Soviet Union and receives further assignments from the Russians that the question of his having to leave his present employment will have to be made.

It is the informant's hope that his further involvement within the apparatus will allow him to continue his full time work at the [redacted] and likewise, it is felt that such employment would offer him the best cover possible. If his duties within the apparatus require his full time participation and he either replaces NY 694-S\* or is assigned a separate and similar operation, it is then anticipated that it would fall upon the government to provide at least the salary that he is making at that time (\$11,000.00 as of now).

As set forth in reNYlet, the informant and [redacted] [redacted] have agreed to full participation in this undertaking and, as a consequence, are willing to sacrifice their peace

b7D

[REDACTED]

of mind as well as their established plans for a placid retirement. Since they have proven themselves to the Bureau and NY 4309-S\* has finalized the agreement with NY 694-S\* by making himself available for a trip to Russia, it is felt that we should show good faith on our part by repaying him for the personal sacrifice being made by himself [REDACTED]. It is felt that, since both the informant and [REDACTED] are concerned with their future retirement and well being, an arrangement be made whereby the New York Office will set aside a pension plan at the current time, in lieu of an increase in cash payments for services. It is therefore recommended that authority be granted for the New York Office to purchase, at \$75.00 a month, a U.S. Government Bond, face value of \$100.00. This bond will be made out in the name of NY 4309-S\* [REDACTED] and will be retained in a safe deposit box in New York City to be released to the informant upon his termination of his service.

b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Conrad *June*

DATE: May 6, 1968

FROM : *C. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: *SOLO*  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 5/6/68, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J.A. Sizoo, Mr. R.C. Putnam)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

HS:ccb  
(7)

REC 3/00-428041-6924

MAY 10 1968

98 MAY 15 1968

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *S/S*

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB*

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
DATE: May 7, 1968  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

My memorandum of 4/12/68 set forth, in detail, an accounting of funds received by the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), from the Soviets and Red China for March, 1968. The following is an accounting of these funds for April, 1968.

## TOTAL FUNDS RECEIVED AND DISBURSED 9/58 to 3/31/68

Total received from the Soviet Union.....	\$5,236,538.09
Total received from Red China (all on 2/10/60)...	50,000.00
<u>Total received 9/58 to 3/31/68.....</u>	<u>\$5,286,538.09</u>
Total disbursed 9/58 to 3/31/68.....	4,381,356.64
Total as of 3/31/68.....	\$ 905,181.45
Received from Soviets 4/20/68.....	500,000.00
(First half of 1968 subsidy)	
<u>Total available.....</u>	<u>\$1,405,181.45</u>

## DISBURSEMENTS DURING APRIL, 1968

All disbursements made on specific instructions of Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA.

4/7/68 - To Gus Hall for expenses of Industrial Concentration Meeting, Chicago, Illinois, 4/6-7/68.....\$ 2,000.00

4/8/68 - For expenses of Gus Hall and family on visit to Chicago 4/6-7/68.....\$ 901.53

4/10/68 - To CG 5824-S\* for partial expenses Solo Mission 26.....\$ 500.00

*REC 3*  
*100-428091-1925*  
*10 MAY 10 1968*  
*BECD*  
*5 SJ*  
*58*  
Total disbursed April, 1968.....\$ 3,401.53

100-428091

RCP:bb  
(5)

↓ ↓  
CONTINUED - OVER

COPY MADE FOR MR. TOLSON

98 MAY 15 1968

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

Balance of Fund 4/30/68.....	\$1,401,779.92
In Chicago.....	\$ 133,835.60
In New York.....	1,267,944.32
	<u>\$1,401,779.92</u>

ACTION:

None. This memorandum is submitted for your information. An up-to-date accounting of Party funds received from the Soviets will be brought to your attention each month. Details of the accounting of these funds are not to be disseminated.

*Handwritten signatures and initials:*  
JH  
H  
H  
H  
H

OPTIONAL FORM NO. 10  
MAY 1962 EDITION  
GSA FPMR (41 CFR) 101-11.6

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/7/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

NO DISSEM ABROAD

~~TOP SECRET~~

ReCGtel May 7, 1968.

Forwarded under separate cover for the Bureau under Government Bill of Lading #D 5015127, protective signature requested, are seven reels of motion picture sound film concerning the U.S. Navy ship "Pueblo" and its crew.

On May 6, 1968, CG 5824-S\* returned to Chicago from the 26th Solo Mission which commenced on April 17, 1968. Source furnished SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE seven reels of motion picture sound film consisting of the press conference and confessions of the crew members of the U.S. Navy ship "Pueblo." Also, the open letter to JOHNSON is included among these films.

Source advised that he received the film from the North Korean Ambassador to Czechoslovakia to be utilized by the CP, USA for the purpose of exploitation. Source advised that supposedly the soundtrack of these films is in the English language; however, it is his belief that the film has not been furnished to any other Western country. He advised he learned that these films have been shown at the North Korean Embassy in Prague but he was not aware of the showing or of those who were in attendance.

These films are being forwarded to the Bureau for review and the Bureau may decide if they are of sufficient importance to make copies thereof.

The following are the reel number, label and description of the seven reels:

- ②-Bureau (RM)
- 1-Package (Air Express)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

REC-23

EX-116

RAV:MDW  
(5)

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

NO DISSEM ABROAD

~~TOP SECRET~~

11 MAY 13 1968



98 MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



CG 134-46 Sub B

<u>Reel #</u>	<u>Label</u>	<u>Description</u>
1	No 1-1	"Pueblo"
2	No 1-2	"The Pueblo - Armed Spy Ship of The U.S. Imperialist Aggression Forces (Their Confessions)"
3	No 2-1	"The Pueblo - Armed Spy Ship of The U.S. Imperialist Aggression Forces (The Press Conference)"
4	No 2-2	"The Pueblo - Armed Spy Ship of The U.S. Imperialist Aggression Forces (The Press Conference)"
5	No 3	"Pueblo"
6	No 4	"The Pueblo - Armed Spy Ship of The U.S. Imperialist Aggression Forces (Their Life)"
7	No 5	"The Pueblo - Armed Spy Ship of The U.S. Imperialist Aggression Forces (The Open Letter to Johnson)"

Source advised that he is concerned that the CP, USA leadership will soon learn of his possession of the above films and will want to see them; therefore, he would like to have them returned as soon as possible.

After viewing and/or copying, the film should be returned to the Chicago Office in the same form as received, that is, without the addition of metal motion picture reels.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~  
~~NO DISSEM ABROAD~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION~~  
~~NO DISSEM ABROAD~~

VIA TELETYPE  
MAY 7 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. DeLoach.....  
Mr. Mohr.....  
Mr. Bishop.....  
Mr. Casper.....  
Mr. Callahan.....  
Mr. Conrad.....  
Mr. Felt.....  
Mr. Gale.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
Mr. Sullivan.....  
Mr. Tavel.....  
Mr. Trotter.....  
Tele. Room.....  
Miss Holmes.....  
Miss Gandy.....

3:17AM URGENT 5-7-68 ERH  
TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK  
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON  
FROM CHICAGO

NO DISSEM ABROAD

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~TOP SECRET~~

SOLO, IS-C.

CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR-S ASTERISK RETURNED TO CHICAGO MAY SIX  
FROM SOLO MISSION TWENTY SIX WHICH BEGAN APRIL SEVENTEEN LAST.  
DURING TRIP SOURCE TRAVELED TO BUDAPEST, HUNGARY AND PRAGUE,  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, BUT DID NOT VISIT MOSCOW, USSR. AT THIS TIME  
DEBRIEFING OF SOURCE LIMITED BUT FOLLOWING INFORMATION OBTAINED:

ONE-NORTH KOREA. AMBASSADOR OF NORTH KOREA TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA  
FURNISHED TO SOURCE SEVEN REELS OF MOTION PICTURE FILM SAID TO BE  
OF INTERVIEWS AND "CONFESSIONS" OF CREW MEMBERS OF US NAVY SHIP "PUEBLO."  
FILM NOT YET FURNISHED TO WESTERN COUNTRIES AND BEING FURNISHED FOR  
EXPLOITATION BY COMMUNIST PARTY USA. FILM WILL BE FURNISHED TO BUREAU  
EXPEDITIOUSLY.

Classified by 7339  
Exempt from GDS, Category 2-3  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

EX-116

100-42871-6927

RELAYED TO

NO DISSEM ABROAD

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~TOP SECRET~~

98 MAY 15 1968

PAGE TWO

**NO DISSEM ABROAD**

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~TOP SECRET~~

TWO-NORTH VIETNAM. IN INTERVIEW WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE AMBASSADOR TO CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HE STRESSED THE FOLLOWING: ONE-NORTH VIETNAM EXPECTS HARD FIGHTING TO CONTINUE FOR LONG TIME; TWO-WANT PEACE GROUPS IN USA TO CONTINUE TO KEEP ISSUE IN FRONT OF AMERICAN PUBLIC; THREE-STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF NEWLY-FORMED NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC UNION IN SOUTH VIETNAM, MADE UP OF INDIVIDUALS NOT KNOWN TO BE COMMUNISTS WHO ARE URGING NEGOTIATIONS AND PEACE. SOURCE STATED NORTH VIETNAMESE ARE MOVING CLOSER TO USSR AND AWAY FROM CHINA.

THREE-PREPARATORY COMMISSION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES. SOURCE PARTICIPATED IN MEETING OF PREPARATORY COMMISSION HELD IN BUDAPEST, HUNGARY, APRIL TWENTYFOUR TO TWENTYEIGHT LAST WHICH SET DATE FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE FOR NOVEMBER TWENTY FIVE NEXT IN MOSCOW, USSR. SOURCE HAS NUMEROUS DOCUMENTS AND NOTES ON PROCEEDINGS OF MEETING WHICH WILL BE FURNISHED TO BUREAU EXPEDITIOUSLY. COMMISSION APPOINTED WORKING COMMITTEE AND "SMALL GROUP" OF EIGHT CP'S TO HOLD ADDITIONAL MEETINGS BEFORE MOSCOW CONFERENCE. "SMALL GROUP" TO MEET JUNE TEN NEXT AND WORKING COMMITTEE TO MEET JUNE EIGHTEEN NEXT. ENTIRE PREPARATORY COMMISSION TO MEET AGAIN SEPTEMBER NEXT. SOURCE WAS CHOSEN MEMBER OF BOTH "SMALL GROUP" AND WORKING COMMITTEE.

**NO DISSEM ABROAD**

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~  
NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION  
NO DISSEM ABROAD

PAGE THREE

FOUR-RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN TO TIGHTEN UP IDEOLOGICALLY. SOURCE ADVISED THAT LITTLE PUBLICIZED CAMPAIGN IS IN PROGRESS IN USSR TO FORCE REPUDIATION OF LIBERAL TENDENCIES BY MANY HIGHLY PLACED INDIVIDUALS. THERE ARE DEFINITE MOVES TO REHABILITATE STALIN TO SOME EXTENT. HIGH OFFICIALS ARE BEING REQUIRED TO SIGN STATEMENTS REPUDIATING PAST LIBERAL STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS. HUNDREDS HAVE BEEN EXPELLED FROM THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND SUSPENDED FROM THEIR JOBS.

DEBRIEFING OF SOURCE CONTINUING COMMENSURATE WITH HIS HEALTH AND CURRENT STATE OF FATIGUE. LHM'S FOLLOW.

RECEIVED: 5:09AM RM

~~TOP SECRET~~  
NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION  
NO DISSEM ABROAD

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 5/7/68

FROM : C. D. Brennan *CB*

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

**NO DISSEM ABROAD**

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

~~TOP SECRET~~

## PURPOSE:

This memorandum advises of the safe return of CG 5824-S\* from SOLO Mission 26 to Budapest, Hungary, and Prague, Czechoslovakia. Results of his contacts during this trip set forth.

## BACKGROUND:

CG 5824-S\* departed 4/17/68 and returned to Chicago 5/6/68. From a limited debriefing of this source, the following highlights were obtained.

CG 5824-S\* returned to the U. S. with seven reels of motion picture film given to him by the North Korean Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. This film, which has not previously been furnished to Western countries, is said to contain interviews and "confessions" of crew members of the U. S. Navy ship "Pueblo" and is being furnished to the Communist Party, USA, for purposes of exploitation.

The North Vietnamese Ambassador to Czechoslovakia in an interview with source stressed the following points: North Vietnam expects hard fighting to continue for a long time; Hanoi desires peace groups in the U. S. to continue to keep the peace issue in front of the American public; importance of newly formed National Democratic Union in South Vietnam, which group is made up of individuals who are not known to be communists but who are urging for negotiations and peace. The North Vietnamese Ambassador stated that his country is moving closer to Russia and away from China.

TJM:jav  
(6)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Branigan
- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - Mr. McNiff

~~TOP SECRET~~

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

**NO DISSEM ABROAD**

98 MAY 15 1968

CONTINUED - OVER 15 MAY 1968

EX-116

Memorandum C.D. Brennan to W.C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

~~TOP SECRET~~

NO DISSEM ABROAD

Source participated in the meeting of the Preparatory Commission for International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties held in Budapest, Hungary, 4/24-28/68. This Commission set 11/25/68 as the date for the International Communist Conference to be held in Moscow, USSR. Source also advised that he was chosen as a member of both a "small group" of eight communist parties scheduled to meet 6/10/68 and as a member of the "working committee" scheduled to meet 6/18/68 for the purpose of making preparations for the International Conference. The entire Preparatory Commission is scheduled to meet again sometime in September, 1968. Source advised that a little publicized campaign is currently in progress in Russia to force repudiation of liberal tendencies by highly placed individuals. To some extent, definite moves are afoot to rehabilitate Stalin. High officials are being required to sign statements repudiating former liberal statements and actions and hundreds have been expelled from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and have been suspended from their jobs.

OBSERVATIONS:

Debriefing of this source will continue commensurate with his health and current state of fatigue. The above-mentioned film and documents pertaining to the meeting of the Preparatory Commission are being expeditiously furnished to the Bureau.

ACTION:

You will be kept advised of pertinent developments and upon receipt of complete details, appropriate dissemination will expeditiously be made to top Government officials under a "~~Top Secret~~" classification.

~~TOP SECRET~~

NO FOREIGN DISSEMINATION

NO DISSEM ABROAD

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637 Sub C)

Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

5/10/68

1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan  
(Attn. M. F. Row)  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. M. J. Rozamus  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

Reurlet 5/7/68, captioned "NY 4309-S\*."

Authority is granted to purchase a U. S. savings bond each month at a cost of \$75 in the manner described in relet. Advise of reaction of informants.

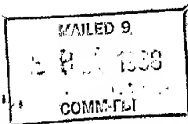
Data set forth in relet constitutes a major breakthrough in our efforts to place additional personnel in the Solo Apparatus. This matter should be afforded closest supervision to insure that it brings the desired results.

RCP:cst *cs*  
(10)

## NOTE:

See cover memorandum C. D. Brennan to Mr. W. C. Sullivan, dated May 9, 1968, same caption, prepared by RCP:cst.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



EX-110

REC-9

11 MAY 13 1968

98 MAY 15 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (

DATE: 4/16/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK [redacted] (P)

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b7D

SUBJECT: [redacted]

PSI:

SOLO

(REPLACEMENT AND NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)

The captioned individual has been under investigation in the NYO as a PSI.

There follows, the prerequisite background information required by the Bureau before authority to begin directing the individual's activities can be given.

However, there is a lead outstanding, the successful conclusion of which would be needed prior to Bureau approval.

## Date and Place of Birth

Born [redacted] on [redacted] in or NY. [redacted] noted that his passport and "probably formal birth records" carry his birth date as [redacted] [redacted] is equally insistent that his mother be given the benefit of the doubt.

A lead has been set out for a review of [redacted] passport record and WFO has been requested to submit results to NY and the Bureau.

## Education

The Registrar's Office of Brooklyn College and New York University (NYU) were contacted in January, 1968. Mrs. EMTLY VALLELONG, Registrar's Office, NYJ, made available [redacted] student file at that institution which reflected that he was born [redacted] and received a B.A. Degree from Brooklyn College in 1951 with a major in economics. He

1cc-906 DB  
3-Bureau (RM)  
1-NY (100-134637 (SUB C) - (#41)  
1-NY [redacted] b7D

REC-134

RJQ:jal

(5)  
MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



5010-108

4/26/68  
cc DESTROYED  
100-428091-  
100-428091-6930



[redacted]  
attended the NYU Graduate School from [redacted]  
to [redacted] majoring in economics, but was not  
graduated.

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The review of [redacted] file at each  
institution failed to reflect derogatory information  
concerning his character or reputation.

#### Marital Status

He was married in [redacted] to [redacted]  
[redacted] born [redacted] in [redacted] NY. Couple has no  
children. His wife is a [redacted] at the [redacted]  
[redacted], NY. A review  
of the indices of the NYO failed to reflect references which  
could be identified with the [redacted]

#### Parents

[redacted]  
[redacted] maiden name and first husband's  
name was [redacted]. His father, deceased, was  
[redacted]. Both of his parents were born in Poland.

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#### Military

The St. Louis Office by letter dated 3/21/68,  
reflected that a review by IC R. DOUGLAS KING on 3/20/68,  
of the military records on file at M.P.R.C., S.L.M.O.  
indicated [redacted] enlisted in the  
US Army Enlisted Reserve Corps, [redacted], and entered on  
active duty, [redacted] NY. He was honorably  
discharged, [redacted] as a Private at Ft. Dix, NJ,  
by reason of demobilization. He had foreign service  
in the Pacific Theater and was awarded the [redacted]  
[redacted]

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#### Employments

[redacted]

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The dates were approximations by [redacted]

[redacted]

Residences

[redacted]

Foreign Travel

[redacted] advised that he has visited the following countries at least ~~one~~

Israel	>Singapore
India	Bangkok
Hong Kong	Japan
Formosa	Indonesia
England	Italy
Greece	Philippines

Indices

The indices of the NYO failed to reflect references which could be identified with [redacted] his wife or parents or [redacted] his current business partner.

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By letter dated 2/20/68, the Chicago Division advised that a review of their indices failed to reflect references which could be identified with [redacted]

Credit

The review of indices of the Greater New York Credit Bureau conducted in March, 1968, by IC JOHN L. KAPP failed to reflect derogatory personal information concerning [redacted]. The review did disclose, however, that [redacted] Inc., a travel agency which he was associated from 1962 to 1966, had a relatively poor credit rating. In several suits filed against that concern [redacted] was listed as [redacted]

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[redacted]

The Chicago Office, in its letter of 2/20/68, also advised that on 2/7/68, IC JACK RAY RIDENHOUR caused the records of the Chicago Credit Bureau, Inc., to be checked and no record of the subject was located.

In early 1966, [redacted] left the [redacted] and became a [redacted] in the operation of [redacted] Ltd., an international tour agency specializing in the arrangements of group tours for medical and professional people. As of January, 1968, both CSNY -1 and the Greater New York Credit Bureau failed to reflect derogatory information concerning the credit reputation of Coordinated Tours.

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#### Criminal Check

On 3/11/68, SA [redacted] caused a search to be made of indices of the Bureau of Criminal Identification (BCI), NYCPD, and the BSS, NYCPD concerning [redacted]. No derogatory information which could be identified with those individuals could be located.

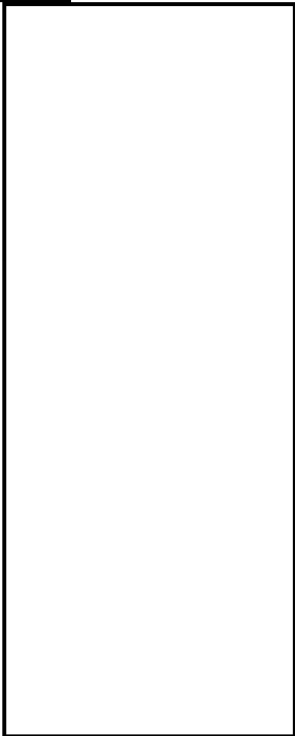
The Chicago letter to NY, dated 2/20/68, referred to above, also disclosed that on 2/7/68, IC RALPH MC CLAIN caused the records of the Bureau of Records and Communications, Chicago, Ill. Police Department to be checked. No record of the subject was located.

#### Informants Canvassed

The following informants in the NYO and the Chicago Office, familiar with some phases of Communist youth and racial activities, were contacted during January, February or March, 1968, and advised they could provide no information concerning [redacted]


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b7D

Selective Service Record

 is an honorably discharged army veteran of World War II, too old for the current draft.

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b7C

[redacted]

Reliability Check

In November, 1967, [redacted] through his activities as a [redacted] and while in Chicago, Ill., came into contact with [redacted] (Bufile 100-338488) and recognized him for what he was - a Communist. [redacted] for years, has been utilized by the CP, USA in attempts to establish [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] which will return a profit to the CP.

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Although [redacted] contacts with [redacted] did not result in receipt of new information concerning [redacted] the contact did result in the corroboration of old information and, perhaps, more importantly, the establishment of logical need for further communication and contact between [redacted] and [redacted]. Further, the information [redacted] provided concerning [redacted] was candid, accurate and intended to show that he could be a reliable fact gatherer.

Patriotism

On 1/17/68, during an interview with a Bureau agent, [redacted] an avid pro-American, stated that when he was a young man, his father told him that only three things "counted;" God, America and the New York Yankees. He commented that thus far in his lifetime, only the New York Yankees had disappointed him. He added that his love for America and things American has been especially enriched and firmly entrenched in his character by his travels around the world, and the opportunity thus afforded to compare those things routinely accepted as an American with those things denied to many foreigners. For example, he cited the requirement in France that all individuals must display identity cards whenever requested by a police officer. [redacted] noted, at this point, that he had once lost his passport in Paris.

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Reputation

[redacted] Army file, reviewed in March, 1968, reflected that character and efficiency ratings were excellent and that there was no record of courts-martial or of his ever having been AWOL.

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[redacted]  
 Information available at the Credit Bureau of Greater NY, as reviewed in January, 1968, disclosed that [redacted] landlord of 16 years at [redacted] NY, advised in November, 1966, that [redacted] was a satisfactory tenant who regularly paid his rent on time.

As set forth Supra, [redacted] college and graduate student files were free of derogatory information concerning his reputation.

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 b7D

#### Physical and Mental Stability

[redacted] advised that to the best of his knowledge, he does not now, or has he ever in the past, suffered from any unusual physical disabilities or mental problems.

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 b7D

His Army file reflected that there was no record of treatment for any injuries or mental disorder.

#### Physical Description

Height	6'11½"
Weight	175 lbs.
Eyes	Blue
Hair	Brown - thinning
Miscellaneous	A tall, gangling, rumpled individual with [redacted]

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 b7D

[redacted]  
 [redacted]  
 for his [redacted]  
 has a rather slow, ambling gait.

It is the opinion of the NYO that [redacted] possesses informant potential, and, further, most importantly, because of his association with an individual affiliated with the CP, USA hierarchy and his national and international travel affiliates, coupled with his [redacted] he has potential as a SOLO informant.

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b7D

[redacted]  
[redacted] development, therefore, will be undertaken  
with ultimate SOLO assimilation as a goal.

No attempt will be made to direct [redacted]  
activities until Bureau approval is received.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. J. P. Mohr

DATE: May 9, 1968

FROM : C. D. Brennan

1 - Mr. N. P. Callahan  
(Attn. M. F. Row)  
1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. M. J. Rozamus  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Solo is the code word used to refer to the liaison operation performed by our informants between the Communist Party, USA, and other communist parties of the world.

### PURPOSE:

This memorandum sets forth a major breakthrough in our intensive search for a suitable replacement to take over the most vulnerable portion of the Solo Operation, the clandestine communications network, in the event we should lose NY 694-S\*.

### BACKGROUND:

A major objective in this case has been the location of suitable replacements for our two top informants in view of their deteriorating health. NY 4309-S\* is a logical replacement for NY 694-S\* in the apparatus phase of the operation. Both NY 4309-S\* and [redacted] the Soviets in the 1930s. NY 4309-S\* was a [redacted] and [redacted] traveling throughout Europe to handle his assignments. He returned to the U. S. in 1938 and has been [redacted] since then. His father never returned and eventually died in Russia. The Soviets insist that the informant [redacted] for [redacted] before he can [redacted] of [redacted] work from NY 694-S\*. When this step was first proposed to him, NY 4309-S\* was reluctant since he doubted his father died a natural death. Skillful handling by Agents of our New York Office convinced him of our need for his services and he agreed to travel to the Soviet Union [redacted] NY 4309-S\* [redacted] and handle [redacted] in the apparatus now.

Enclosure sent 5-13-68

100-428091

RCP:cst  
(8)

CONTINUED - OVER

EX 109

REC 10

100-428091-693

MAY 16 1968

98 MAY 16 1968



Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

This is a major breakthrough. While the loss of CG 5824-S\* would be sorely felt, the communications network is in the hands of NY 694-S\*. If we lost NY 694-S\* without a replacement trained and accepted by the Soviets, our control of the apparatus would be in jeopardy. Full utilization of NY 4309-S\* in the operation could extend its usefulness beyond the lifetime of either NY 694-S\* or CG 5824-S\*.

However, little in this world is obtained without cost. We are asking NY 4309-S\* [redacted] to destroy their plans for a normal life with a secure retirement. This is a mighty step. The risks they must undertake as part of this clandestine apparatus are many times more dangerous than those experienced by the average informant. Deeper involvement in the apparatus will require NY 4309-S\* to curtail [redacted] [redacted] with a corresponding decrease in income. Both he [redacted] must sacrifice peace of mind. This they are willing to do without a concrete gesture of future support on our part. This is deserving of recognition in a way which will demonstrate our sincerity. New York recommends, and we concur, that authority be granted to purchase a U. S. savings bond per month at a cost of \$75 with [redacted] These bonds would remain in our custody until the informants' services are terminated and would, in a small way, recompense them for the risks they are willing to undertake. This commitment on our part would do much to stabilize the informants' uncertainties about their future. NY 4309-S\* is currently paid up to \$250 per month for services plus up to \$50 per month for actual expenses incurred and [redacted] receives up to \$50 per month [redacted]

b7D

Attached is a letter authorizing New York to purchase such a bond on a monthly basis.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached letter be approved and sent.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: JAW, WCL, PM, GH, and others]*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/10/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

ReBulet 4/29/68, captioned [redacted] aka,  
SECURITY MATTER - C, and reflecting that an anonymous  
letter received by Mr. HERBERT A. PHILBRICK had been  
forwarded to the Bureau, the House Committee on Un-American  
Activities, and the Senate Internal Subcommittee by persons  
in PHILBRICK's office.

The NYO agrees with the Bureau that it is essential  
that the writer of the anonymous letter be identified and  
developed as a source under Bureau control.

NY 694-S\*, commenting recently about the suspicious  
nature of GUS HALL, stated that the latter was not pleased  
about the association of his [redacted] with [redacted]  
[redacted] (mentioned in the anonymous letter). According  
to HALL, the [redacted] were older people than his [redacted] and  
[redacted] had little, if anything, in common with them,  
and, in HALL's opinion, went out of their way to ingratiate  
themselves with the [redacted]. He expressed the suspicion  
that the [redacted] might be FBI sources.

Of primary concern to the Bureau is the possibility  
that in the immediate future our sources could be called before  
the Congressional Committees named above, and that as a result  
of the consequential adverse publicity, the sources could  
become personae non gratae to both the Party and the Soviets.  
If at all possible, an attempt should be made to dissuade  
these Committees from taking action on the basis of the anonymous

- 5904
- 2 - Bureau (RM)
  - 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B)(RM)
  - 1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(OI)
  - 1 - New York (41)

ACB:msb  
(6)

EX-109  
REC 10

100-428091-6932  
5/10

MAY 15 1968



5010-108

59 MAY 15 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637

letter. Even though the sources themselves might not be subpoenaed to appear before the Committees, any of the other individuals mentioned in the letter could inject the sources' names into testimony, which could be equally disastrous. Also, were the Committees to furnish information regarding this matter to other government agencies, such as the Internal Revenue Service and the Security Exchange Commission, our interests likewise could be jeopardized.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *June W*

DATE: May 13, 1968

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*SX BP*

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 5/13/68, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

## ACTION:

For information.

*R. Putnam*

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
  - 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attn.: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. R. C. Putnam)
  - 1 - Mr. Downing
  - 1 - Mr. Newpher
  - 1 - Mr. Paddock
- HS:ccb*  
*(7)*  
*Downing*  
*W*

EX 109

REC 10

100-426071 1933

MAY 15 1968

59 MAY 15 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/10/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau, and one copy for New York, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "ALBANIAN - YUGOSLAV CONTACTS".

The information in the enclosed LHM was furnished to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE on May 7, 1968, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" to protect the identity of this source who has furnished information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize his security, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to protect the identity of this source the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D.C.

CG 5824-S\* advised that the information in the enclosed LHM was obtained during the course of discussions with the following members of the leadership of the Communist Party (CP) of Czechoslovakia: ALEXANDER DUBCEK, First Secretary; FRANTISEK KOPTA and VACLAV FRYBERT, Representatives of the International Department of the Central Committee who deal with relations with CPs in capitalist countries, including the United States.

- 15-104  
② - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

WAB:mes  
(4) Copy to State CP  
by routing slip for (Sullivan)

☒ Info ☐ action

date 5-17-68  
by RCPY-1



92 MAY 23 1968

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

92 MAY 27 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

May 10, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ALBANIAN - YUGOSLAV CONTACTS

During May, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It was recently learned from leaders of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia that negotiations are expected to commence momentarily between representatives of the governments of Yugoslavia and Albania. These contacts are to be on the subject of the status of nationals from each country residing in the other country.

According to the Czech sources, Albania has made contacts with some of the other socialist countries regarding the re-establishment and normalization of trade relations. The Czech leadership considers this a very significant development which may presage a loosening of Albania's ties to the Peoples Republic of China.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group I~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

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ENCLOSURE

100-428091-

6724

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 01-31-2012

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/10/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau, and one copy for New York, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "CURRENT PROBLEMS IN POLAND AND THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY".

The information in the enclosed LHM was furnished to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE on May 6, 1968, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

This information was obtained by CG 5824-S\* on the 26th Solo Mission during a discussion by the source with MARIAN RENKE, a member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party while both were in Budapest, Hungary, at the meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties held April 24-28, 1968.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" in order to protect the identity of this source who has furnished information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize his security, thus adversely affecting the national security. The identity of RENKE was deleted from the LHM to provide additional security for this source.

In order to protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D.C.

- ② - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)  
1 - New York (Encl. 1) (100-134637) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RAV:mes  
(4)

☒ Info ☐ action

date 5-17-68  
by RCP/46

EX-116

REC-25

MAY 10 1968

REC-25



95 MAY 21 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

May 10, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN POLAND AND  
THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY

During May, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During late April, 1968, a Central Committee member of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) furnished information that the current situation in Poland is very complicated, the consequences of an accumulation of a great number of problems. It is not a problem of Wladyslaw Gomulka, First Secretary, Central Committee, PUWP, and Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the Council of Ministers in Charge of Internal Affairs, because they have been close co-workers for many years.

There is currently an offensive of anti-socialist forces, enemies and diversionists who seek to benefit from the difficulties in Poland's economic and cultural life. There are anti-socialist forces both in Poland and abroad and the Party is caught in a cross fire. These are diversions of a political and propaganda character.

The intellectual life of the Party has been faced with revisionism for many years. In many cases revisionists

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~~Group 1~~

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downgrading and  
declassification~~

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ENCLOSURE



CURRENT PROBLEMS IN POLAND AND  
THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

covered up their activities with demands for democratization for the free play of all political forces. This was aimed against the Party, was the danger and the Party had to oppose it.

Another element in this situation is the ideological weaknesses in political work among the youth. Youth are causing problems throughout the world but the problems of youth in the socialist countries are not comparable. In March of 1968 there were small groups of students who participated in events which objectively were bad but subjectively they meant well. They were not anti-socialist or used anti-socialist slogans but were naive and inexperienced. The Party has drawn the conclusion that talks with the youth have been insufficient, it must answer their questions and give them more basic political knowledge to help them rid themselves of liberal and revisionist theories. Those who sow doubt among the students must be contested. There were some professors who did not properly influence the students to work for the needs of the country and they improperly taught students to seek reservations concerning Party policies. These professors and scientists, for political reasons of their own, showed a lack of responsibility in dealing with the young people, therefore, it was deemed necessary that they be dismissed. This does not mean that they will discontinue their scientific work but it does mean they will not continue their scientific work with students. The university authorities came to this same conclusion.

A number of students who were organizers in the March events came from families which were highly placed, even ministers and other highly placed individuals. This is what caused the Party's indignation and a good many of the student leaders in these events were of Jewish origin.

The Party has seriously analyzed the March events. There was no problem of socialism being endangered at the time nor was the Party endangered. Socialism is so deeply rooted in Poland that one or more demonstrations do not threaten it.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN POLAND AND  
THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Party's attitude on the Israeli aggression must be understood and also on those who hesitated in respect to the aggression. That was the reason for Gomulka's speech at the Trade Union Congress, where he placed the question in principle. Some of the people viewed Gomulka's speech with opposition.

Some conclusions must be drawn about certain individuals that should have been removed long ago, chiefly for incompetence. The moral and political attitude of the cadre must be investigated. New cadre and the youth must be developed. The conclusions which have been drawn are being developed with prudence and without emotion. Gomulka has said that those who are guilty must be punished but the Party will defend people who are being attacked.

In respect to cadre and national origin: People have been living in Poland for generations and it is of no importance if they are Jewish or other origin; there must be and are other criteria. The bourgeois press states that only the Jews are being removed but this is not so, even if it might appear to be that way. Gomulka has said that a certain national affirmation is necessary. Ten people have been removed from their jobs in the foreign office because we are compelled to keep certain criteria in mind, particularly because of the sharpened international situation. One had a brother working for Israeli intelligence. Some had bank accounts abroad. The Party must be able to recognize the efforts of the enemy to penetrate our personnel. Had we drawn the proper conclusions earlier we would have no problems now. The Party positions are decisive and resolute.

In respect to anti-Semitism, we cannot depart from certain norms and the Party will not permit anti-Semitism. The Party understands that Zionism is not its number one problem though some make it appear that this is so. Gomulka has explained that Zionism is not a problem in Poland.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CURRENT PROBLEMS IN POLAND AND  
THE POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Our struggle is against those who would like to break up our alliance with the Soviet Union. Our first problem is ideological work among the youth in the higher schools. This has been taken up seriously and is now being done. As in other countries, we in the socialist countries also have problems with our youth but there is no question as to their acceptance of socialism. Our youth takes socialism for granted and there is no question about their desire to remain in the socialist society.

Work in a socialist society is still a problem and we cannot talk about this problem lightly. We must talk with the youth in a serious and fundamental fashion in our discussion of the problems of the society. We will resolve this question gradually. Gomulka made this clear in his speech directed against those who seek to improperly influence the youth.

As a result of recent developments there has been a tremendous revitalization of the Party. In the past meetings were formal with no real discussion of economic or other problems. Now we have really spirited meetings, sometimes too much so.

We are putting the role of the working class in the forefront with the development of more class consciousness. We are not trying to place the question of the working class against the intellectuals as is sometimes charged. The people in the factories are against the bad phenomena and not against bad individuals.

Our Party is now passing over to a more constructive program to prepare for the Party Congress. There will be a Plenum soon and a thesis on future political tasks will be worked out. Current discussion in the Party is at times deep and sharp. There is also a political struggle. We speak first about those outside the Party but we have our problems in the Party as well. The Congress will clarify many questions. There is a struggle now going on in the Central Committee. The bourgeois press is causing much of the current misunderstanding.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/10/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau, and one copy for New York, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "NORMAN FREED, MEMBER OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND MEMBER OF SECRETARIAT, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA."

The information in the enclosed LHM was furnished to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and ROBERT A. VILLEMURE on May 7, 1968, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~CONFIDENTIAL~~" to protect the identity of this source who has furnished information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize his security, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to protect the identity of this source the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D.C.

- 100-428091
- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

WAB:mes  
(4)

LHM  
Copy to SAC, C-2  
by routing slip for (function)

☒ Info ☐ action

date 5-17-68  
by 100-428091



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

REC-25

11 MAY 15 1968

11-6936



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

May 10, 1968

*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NORMAN FREED, MEMBER OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE AND MEMBER OF SECRETARIAT,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA

During May, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It was recently learned that Norman Freed, member of the Central Executive Committee and member of the Secretariat of the Communist Party (CP) of Canada, recently spent three weeks lecturing at the Lenin School in Moscow, USSR. He undertook this task because the CP of Canada at this time has several members of that Party in attendance at the Lenin School. Following his lectures, Freed returned to Toronto, Canada, for a few days. He then traveled to Hungary where he represented the CP of Canada at the Budapest Session of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties, which was held from April 24-28, 1968. Following this meeting, Freed traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he engaged in discussions with the leadership of the CP of Czechoslovakia, following which Freed was to return to Canada.

~~CONFIDENTIAL  
Group I~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

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100-428081

697

ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. R. C. Putnam

BY LIAISON

Date: May 20, 1968  
To: Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State  
From: John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Subject: "WORLD MARXIST REVIEW"

The Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), has received a request from the "World Marxist Review," monthly theoretical organ of the international communist movement published in Prague, Czechoslovakia, for an article on the current political and economic situation in the United States. While the editors of the "World Marxist Review" would prefer to have the article written by Gus Hall, General Secretary, CPUSA, they will accept one written by some other leading member of the Party.

The article will be one of three to be written by members of the CPUSA to appear in the July, 1968, issue of the "World Marxist Review." The other two articles will be an article on the dollar crisis written by the CPUSA economist Victor Perlo and an article on the Negro problem in the United States written by Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CPUSA.

The "World Marxist Review" plans to devote its entire September, 1968, issue to the United States. However, if the CPUSA finds it impossible to submit sufficient material for the complete issue, the "World Marxist Review" will accept one comprehensive article to contain the results of the CPUSA special convention scheduled for July, 1968, the immediate tasks of the CPUSA, and the political situation in the United States on the eve of its presidential election.

100-428091 - 6937

~~SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

MAY 22 1968

REC-44  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

98 MAY 27 1968

~~SECRET~~

Director  
Bureau of Intelligence and Research  
Department of State

1 - Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Attention: Deputy Director, Plans

*RM- J. Roman  
C. G. 5824-S\*  
SP/16  
00*

NOTE:

Classified "~~Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in grave damage to the Nation.

Data extracted from Chicago letter 5/10/68, captioned "Solo, IS - C." CG 5824-S\* received the letter to CPUSA unsealed from Y. Frantsov, Editor In Chief of the "World Marxist Review" while in Prague, Czechoslovakia, on Solo Mission 26 for delivery to Gus Hall.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/10/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two Xerox copies, and one Xerox copy for New York, of a letter written by Y. FRANTSOV, Editor-in-Chief, "World Marxist Review", to GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party (CP), USA, dated May 4, 1968.

On May 6, 1968, CG 5824-S\* returned to Chicago from the 26th Solo Mission. During this mission CG 5824-S\* contacted the "World Marxist Review" in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and Y. FRANTSOV, Editor-in-Chief of the "World Marxist Review", gave the source an unsealed letter addressed to GUS HALL, General Secretary, CP, USA, concerning articles being sent by CP, USA members for the July and September, 1968 issues of the "World Marxist Review". The original letter furnished to SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE on May 6, 1968, by CG 5824-S\*, has been returned to the source for transmittal to GUS HALL and is as follows.

- 1/14 with link
- ② - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)
  - 2 - Chicago
  - 1 - A) 134-46 Sub B-149

RAY:mes  
(5)

EX-116

REC-25

100-428091-  
MAY 15 1968



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



WORLD MARXIST REVIEW

"Problems of Peace and Socialism"

Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties

THAKUROVA 3, PRAGUE 6, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Telegrams: SROZT Prague

Telephone: 325-731

May 4, 1968

Mr. Gus Hall,  
23 West 26 Street,  
New York, N.Y. 10010,  
U.S.A.

Dear Comrade Hall:

First of all let me thank you for your important and valuable article which appears in our May issue.

At present we have an article by Victor Perlo on the dollar crisis which we plan to publish in our July issue. We have been informed that Comrade Winston is writing an article for us on the Negro problem in the U.S. We think, too, that our readers should be told as soon as possible about the internal political situation in the United States in the year of the presidential elections. Such three articles would give the readers a broad picture of the present political and economic situation in your country.

We would appreciate it very much, Comrade Hall, if we could have the article on the political situation by the end of May. The best thing would be, of course, to have the article written by you. We know how extremely busy you are and we realize the difficulties in which you work, but we still rely on your assistance. If it is not possible for you to write this article perhaps Comrade Arnold Johnson or some other leading comrade could do it.

Publishing three articles on the U.S.A. in the July issue would not mean that we are going back on our intention to produce a special U.S. issue in September, as was discussed with your comrade. We'll be expecting the articles for the September issue by the end of July. If that is impossible, we would like to receive for the September issue a comprehensive article on the results of the Party Congress, the immediate tasks of the Party and the political situation in the country on the eve of the presidential elections.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Comradely yours,

Y. Frantsov  
Editor-in-Chief

100-428091-6927

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE 1 ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/10/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

On May 6, 1968, CG 5824-S\* returned to Chicago from the 26th Solo Mission which commenced on April 17, 1968. Source furnished SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE on May 6, 1968, various materials and documents which are being prepared in a letterhead memorandum form to be submitted to the Bureau.

Among these documents furnished by CG 5824-S\* were five "Hungarian News Agency's International News Review" dated April 24-28, 1968. These reviews discussed the subject of the meeting of the Preparatory Committee for an International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties held in Budapest, Hungary.

For the information of the Bureau and New York, one copy of each review is enclosed herewith.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 5) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

RAV:mes  
(4)

EX-116

REC-25

11 MAY 15 1968



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU (5)

One (1) copy each of five "Hungarian  
News Agency's International News Review"  
dated 4/24-28/68

Bureau 100-428091  
Chicago 134-46 Sub B  
Letter dated 5/10/68



# M.T.I.

Kiadja a Magyar Távirati Iroda. Budapest, I. Fém-utca 5-7. Telefon: 150-420, 250-800

A szerkesztésért és kiadásért a vezérigazgató felel.

## THE HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS REVIEW

Budapest, 28th April 1968.

No.5.

### I. Echo of the Budapest Meeting

With reference to sources close to the Preparatory Committee AFP reported Saturday that there was a further change in the working programme: the meeting will not terminate its work at the end of the week but will continue the consultations Monday. According to the French News Agency "the silence and the isolation is absolutely complete...Contacts with the press are impossible." Also the Hungarian press is keeping silent in connection with the meeting."

The majority of the Italian papers of Saturday write that the Budapest meeting has not achieved its aim and will end without any resolution. The Italian bourgeois papers consider very significant the fact, that Carlo Galluzzi, head of the Italian party delegation has returned to Rome. This shows - write the papers - that they have convinced themselves of the impossibility of an agreement. Unita keeps perfectly silent about the Budapest meeting and carries no reports about same. /MTI/

Erwin Scharf, secretary of the CC of the Austrian CP, who represents his party at the Budapest meeting, gives a brief report in the Volkstimme of Saturday. He writes among others that "a fruitful exchange of ideas has developed, in the course of which the most varying conceptions are expressed, since it is a question of independent parties working out their stand in an autonomous way. In accordance with the character of the Preparatory Committee not all contributions are suitable for publication... The meeting will

100-428091-6938

end early next week. The talks are centred on the questions of the documents to be prepared for the Moscow Conference."/MTI/

## II. Other international news

Humphrey, American vice-president declared officially Saturday that he will bid for the presidential nomination of the Democratic Party. At a lunch given in his honour he declared that "we are not living in times when inflaming declarations should be made or a scapegoat should be looked for." The nomination of Humphrey is supported by the Johnson wing of the Democratic Party apparatus./MTI/

According to the communication of the American State Department the American and North Viet Nam representatives have again met in Laos Saturday, yet they have not advanced any further in establishing a venue for the preparatory talks. This week this has been the second meeting between American envoy Sullivan and North Viet Nam chargé d'affaires Nguyen Canh. /AP/

UNO Security Council discussed on two sessions Saturday the complaint of Jordan in connection with the planned Israeli military parade in Jerusalem on May 2. The Jordan delegate demanded immediate measures by the Council to prevent the holding of the planned provocative military parade./MTI/

Big demonstrations were held all over the country in the United States Saturday, against the Viet Nam war and the increasing number of draft calls. The biggest demonstration took place in New York where more than 100.000 participated in the march and the anti-war rallies. One of the speakers at the principal rally has been the widow of murdered Martin Luther King./MTI/

Alexander Dubcek, First Secretary of the CC of the CCP, spoke at the Prague municipal party conference. He declared among others: "in the stage of consolidation we should take care that the process should be headed by the Party." Speaking about the question of calling the party congress Dubcek stated that up to a certain degree a contradictory situation has developed: the congress

should be called at the earliest date, at the same time it should be prepared thoroughly, for instance, the action-programme should previously be discussed within the party.<sup>3</sup> - Out of the 508 delegates attending the municipal party conference 485 voted for summoning the extraordinary congress of the CCP still before the elections into the representative bodies, yet at the latest up to the end of 1968.<sup>4</sup> Other regional party meetings again took a stand for the holding of the regular congress, stipulating that it should be held at the latest in the spring of next year./CTK/

The secondary school students of the Czechoslovak capital held a demonstration in front of the American embassy building Saturday, to express their solidarity with the protesting strike of the American students opposing the Viet Nam war.<sup>5</sup> The delegation of the demonstrators handed over a petition protesting against the Viet Nam aggression of the USA, to the embassy officials./CTK/ - According to the report of the AP the Czechoslovak students clashed with the North Viet Nam students in front of the American embassy, when two Vietnamese students tore down two American flags and wanted to burn them. The Czechoslovak students recovered the two flags by force and beat the two North Viet Nam students.<sup>6</sup> The police returned the flags later to the American legation.<sup>7</sup>

In Rumania the documents of the plenum held by the CC of the RCP between April 22-25, among others the resolution on the rehabilitation of certain party activists, are discussed at party activists' meeting all over the country. At the party activists' meeting of the Bucharest municipality, Nicolae Ceausescu, Secretary General of the RCP addressed the audience. /MTI/

# MTI

Kiadja a Magyar Távirati Iroda. Budapest, I. Főm-utca 5-7. Telefon: 359-600, 259-500

A szerkesztésért és kiadásért a vezetőség felel.

## THE HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS REVIEW

Budapest, 27th April 1968.

N<sup>o</sup>. 4.

### Response to the Budapest Meeting

The American AP agency reports on the Czechoslovakian CP's material dealing with the Budapest Meeting, stating among others: "the discussions in the preparatory committee are extremely lively. Several delegates have spoken on the contents of the documents, and particularly on what not must be omitted... The number of documents to be drafted has also been discussed. The Czechoslovakian delegation has proposed several documents." The AP further reporting on the report of the Czechoslovakian CP emphasizes that "the delegations are striving to find the correct line on the basis of which the preparations can be continued and the opinions concerning the themes to be discussed in Moscow may be coordinated."

The Tanjug in a report from Budapest writes that "a general discussion has been going on for two days and on Friday also, afterwards a narrower body shall be formed to draw up the draft documents. According to well-informed sources this body shall incorporate 22 parties". The Tanjug also reports that "the speed with which the preparatory committee is approaching the end of its work compels the observer to draw the conclusion that the discussion in merit of the questions stemming from various places did not take place at the Budapest Meeting."

The New York Times carries the report of Henry Kamm from Budapest on the meeting. It writes among others: "According to sources near to the Hungarian Party leadership those parties which are the closest to Moscow shall take a stand for such a conference which has as its main item the struggle against the USA, and especially the question of Vietnam."

The Paris correspondent of the London Daily Telegraph writes among others: "An indication of a greater degree of political independence is seen in the stand adopted by the Czechoslovakian Communist Party concerning the session of the Budapest preparatory meeting... A television commentary in Prague in connection with the Budapest meeting remarked that the standpoint of Prague is very near to that of Rumania."

100-428091-6938

Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian CP Jozef Lenart, head of the Czechoslovakian delegation attending the Budapest meeting received on Friday the reporter of the french AFP and breaking through for the first time "the blackout surrounding the preparatory committee" stated that he wishes to ensure the widest publicity for every communist meeting.

The AFP quotes in length Lenart's words according to which "it is sure that the 51 delegations conferring in Budapest do not share identical views, but no Soviet or other pressure is being brought on the Czechoslovakian delegation." Lenart stressed that "no meeting of such a character can play the role of Comintern or Cominform or of other international organization." Answering a question he stated that "he personally regrets that the Yugoslavian party is not present". "At the same time we believe that this shall not exclude them from the preparatory work or from the Conference of the communist parties." Finally he emphasized that "the Moscow Conference is not an aim in itself, but a stage leading to the world conference of all democratic forces".

#### International Events

The General Assembly of the United Nations has begun on Friday discussion on the South-West African situation. The chairman of the Organization's South-West Africa Commission reported on the results the visit of the commission members to Africa brought. The political commission of the General Assembly has begun on Friday to discuss the nuclear non-proliferation draft treaty. (TASS)

Director Mayor of West Berlin Klaus Schütz attempted on Friday to travel to West Germany over the territory of the GDR. On the orders of the minister of interior of the GDR, issued on 13th April, Schütz's passing though the boarder station was not permitted. A spokesman for the Bonn government called the event in a statement a serious violation of the four-power treaty on West Berlin. The embassies of the USA, England and France stated in a joint statement: "The Eastern German authorities are not competent to modify the valid four-power treaty regulating traffic between West Berlin and the GFR." (AFP, Reuter, ADN)

A new friendship, cooperation and joint assistance agreement has been signed on Friday in Prague between Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. The Bulgarian party and government delegation headed by Todor Zhivkov arrived home from Prague during the day. (MTI)

The American Atomic Energy Commission reported that a H bomb test has been made in Nevada on Friday having unprecedented force (equal to 1,2 million tons of TNT). (AP)

Hejkal, editor in chief of the Al Ahram in his Friday's leading editorial said that two ways are open to Israel: to provoke a new war, before the UAR replenishes its military strength, or to start an unexpected attack similarly to the June aggression. Israeli minister of defence Dajan warned



Jordan in an unusually strong speech delivered Friday. He stated that "in case the Arab resistance do not cease their activity the war shall be spread to the other banks of the River Jordan." (AFP)

Chinese deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs Chen Ji in a speech delivered at a reception on Friday qualified Johnson's announcement concerning the limitations of the bombing of the DRV as "a mere conspiracy". At the same time he emphasized that the "the renegade group of modern revisionists are vilely cursing the movement of the American Negroes". (MTI)

The Soviet Union launched on Friday the Kosmos 219 artificial moon. Its greatest distance from the Earth is 1,770 kilometres. Its shortest distance is 222 kilometres. Its angle with the Equator is 48,4 degrees (TASS). The AP says that the orbit data of the new sputnik are unusual and has the opinion that Moscow is preparing for a new spectacular space test, and shall launch two or three space ships with several cosmonauts.

First secretary of the Czechoslovakian CP Alexander Dubtchek in a speech delivered Friday to the conference of the Prague city party committee endorsed the demand to convene an extraordinary party conference which would expell from the Central Committee the supporters of Novotny, - reported the AP.

Czechoslovakian minister of interior Jozef Pavel has invalidated the resolution passed last August which deprived Slovakian writer Ladislav Mnacko of his citizenship. (CTK)

In the Political Commission of the United Nations General Assembly deputy secretary-general Nesterenko informed on the statement of U Thant highly appraising the significance of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. At the session of the political commission Goldberg and Kuznetsov, heads of the American and Soviet delegations, reported on the stand of their governments on preventing the spread of nuclear arms.

The next session of the Political Commission shall convene on Tuesday.

According to information received by the PAP news agency Hanoi is unwavering in its stand that the site for preliminary American - Vietnamese contacts be Warszawa or Phnom Penh. According to American news agency UPI the Polish foreign ministry is highly active in efforts to have Warszawa accepted by various western countries.

According to a summary report issued by the NLFSV during the past 75 days the national liberation forces of South Vietnam have caused 200 thousand casualties to the enemy, among them are 60 thousand Americans.

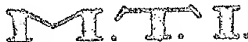
The decree issued by the Rumanian State Council has called back Alexandr Draghicio - who a day earlier had been expelled from the leadership of the R CP - from the post of deputy prime minister.

Commentator for the AFP Fejtő points out that the Czechoslovakian events had their influence on Bucarest. He points out that while the changes in Czechoslovakia primarily took place on a home policy level and the foreign policy pursued by Prague essentially is unchanged, a considerable alteration of Rumanian foreign policy preceded the internal policy changes which are commencing now. Fejtő remarks that Gheorghiu Dej has been condemned, even if he had great merits - as the commentator of the AFP remarks - "at the end of his life he shared nationalist views". Writing on Patrascanu he says that he had desired a "more Rumanian" policy than Gheorghiu Dej.

The AFP reports on the commentary of the Prague Radio which had pointed out that the Czechoslovakian CP urged for a open discussion between the various trends in the international communist movement. The cause of the present standstill of the movement is not only the Chinese policy, but is also to be found in the 1957 and 1960 documents. According to the Prague Radio the communist summit conference in Moscow must not repeat the mistakes and the errors of the past, it not necessarily must pass documents obligatory for every one, but can leave ample space for individual initiatives.

The press service of the Polish foreign ministry has decidedly refuted speculations concerning the possible resignation of foreign minister Adam Rapacki. As they reported Rapacki has been on sick-leave for already a month. The AFP remarks that Rapacki's sick-leave shall last for presumably three months more.

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Kiadja a Magyar Távirati Iroda. Budapest, I. Fém-utca 5-7. Telefon: 188-48a, 260-53a

A szerkesztésért és kiadásért a vezérigazgató felel.

## THE HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS REVIEW

Budapest, 26th April 1968.

N<sup>o</sup>. 3.

### International Reaction to the Budapest Meeting

The Thursday reports carried by the western news agencies unanimously underscore that there is a complete news blockade in connection with the Budapest Meeting. The AFP and the UPI report that the number of the parties attending has reached the figure of 49 and the arrival of further delegations may be anticipated. Referring to the opinion of Budapest observers the UPI considers it possible that the plenary session shall end on Friday, and work will be continued only in a committee having a limited number of members.

The AFP with reference to well informed sources reports that there are three important topics on the agenda of the preparatory committee meeting: the general situation of the anti-imperialist struggle, the analysis of the war in Vietnam, and finally a peace declaration to the people of the world.

Among the bigger American papers the Washington Post deals with the Budapest Meeting in its Thursday issue, quoting the article carried in the "Pravda" of Bratislava, concerning the significance of the democratization of inter-party relations. The Thursday edition of the Christian Science Monitor brings the analysis of David Willis under the heading: "Moscow adopting itself to the red's uneasiness". According to the article the Soviet Party leadership in the future "shall work together with those who are willing to". Willis gives a short outline of the situation in the world communist movement.

The London Times under the headlines "danger of split before international communist summit" quotes in a 29 lines length the alleged statement of the Czechoslovakian delegation headed by Lenart. The Prague report of the Financial Times underlines that "the Czechoslovakian delegation is adopting an independent stand, similarly as the Rumanians."

In connection with the Budapest Meeting in the Thursday issue of the Parisian Combat George Andersen writes that "the perspectives

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of an all-german reconciliation after the Prague spring have not increased, but on the contrary have rather become smaller. The stronger the centrifugal power is among the People's Democracies, the bigger is the need of the Soviet Union for the GDR and its strong system". According to the commentary of the Paris Jour "probably the Prague spring is" in the centre of the Budapest meeting. According to the information of the Aurora "the Czechoslovakian delegation is determined to leave the meeting if the slightest attack shall be voiced against the Prague policy of liberalization".

Commenting on the Budapest Meeting the Belgrade Kommunist in its Thursday issue repeats in essence the stand taken by the Communist League of Yugoslavia in connection with the international conference of the communist and workers' parties. The Yugoslavian news agency Tanjug among others calls attention to the fact that half of the 14 communist parties which are in power are not attending the meeting, and this "undoubtedly is not in the favour of those who are advocating the conference".

The Italian Avanti dealing with the Budapest Meeting remarks: "Before the split between the Soviet Union and China 88 parties participated at such meetings. In February of this year only 66, and now the number has decreased to 44 with Asia staying away in practice."

#### International Events

In connection with the Tuesday statement made by President Johnson, saying that the Vientiane ambassadors of the DRV and the USA at the beginning of this week several times had conferred, official circles in Hanoi stated: there was no such contact established in Vientiane, which could be classified as any form of "preliminary discussions". (MTI)

The Washington news has been confirmed on Thursday by American diplomatic circles that American ambassador Sullivan and North Vietnamese attache Nguyen Canh met several times in Vientiane. According to the AP there was a similar meeting on Thursday evening, which lasted for a half an hour. (AFP)

An attempt was made Thursday in Algir to assassinate President Bumedien: unidentified persons gave several machine gun shots on the automobile of the President, when he was just leaving the government palace after a cabinet session. Bumedien was slightly wounded by flying glass but was not hit by the bullets. According to news agency reports the shots were fired by persons wearing the uniform of the security service. President Bumedien made a speech in the evening in the Algerian radio and said: the attempt shall not alter the road of the revolution in Algeria. (Reuter, AFP)

At the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Rumanian CP minister of the armed forces colonel general Ionita submitted a report on the military and political preparedness of the armed forces. Among others he emphasized that until the NATO exists the Warsaw Pact shall be necessary. (MTI)

The Baghdad Radio announced on Thursday: Iraq and England have decided to reestablish diplomatic relations with the first of May, broken as a result of the June Near East war last year. (Reuter)

The Jordanian government has been reshuffled on Thursday. Prime minister Talhuni has taken over temporarily internal affairs and defence. Political observers remind that the opinion of the members of the cabinet differ in connection with the activities of the Arab resistance groups. (AFP)

A two days meeting of the Western European Union has opened in Paris on Thursday. On the agenda are: the Yugoslavian invitation for the conference of the non-allied countries, and the question of Eastern-Western relations. (AFP, Reuter)

President Nasser delivered a speech at the Cairo University Thursday evening. He said that the UAR is not willing to negotiate with Israel concerning the Near East crisis on the basis of the Tel Aviv demands; He stated that the UAR has replaced the losses suffered in the June war, and warned that "the forthcoming struggle with Israel will be decisive." (AFP, Reuter)

On Thursday the Czechoslovakian government replaced lieutenant colonel Zdenek Cigal, the first deputy of the minister of justice and appointed as his successor Zdenek Kratochvil. The replacement was made on the order of the minister of justice in the framework of the personnel changes to be made in the organs of justice. (CTK)

The session of the Central Committee of the Rumanian CP which ended on Thursday brought a resolution in connection with the Sofia and Dresden meetings. Touching on the latter the resolution states in an offended voice that Rumania had not been invited to the meeting of such an organization, of which Rumania is a founding member. The solution of the problems of the Comecom and the Warsaw Pact will not be promoted if only the representatives of a few member states discuss them.

The communique issued by the Plenary Session of the Rumanian Party mentions the rehabilitation of former Rumanian minister of justice Patrascanu, executed in 1954, and in this connection attacks Gheorghiu Dej.

United States Ambassador to the United Nations Goldberg has resigned, but according to indications shall retain his post until the end of the current general assembly session. His successor George Bull, in a telephone interview given to the AP news agency stated that he shall remain for eight months at the disposal of the Johnson administration. He considers as his main task the solution of the Vietnamese war problems.

The AFP does not exclude the possibility that if Robert Kennedy should be elected president Goldberg would be appointed in the new administration as Secretary of State.

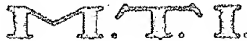
In connection with the planned Israel military parade for 2. May in Jerusalem, Jordan has submitted a request for the urgent convening of the Security Council.

Latest Reaction to the Budapest Meeting

Friday morning the Western news agencies point out that the Czechoslovakian delegation by publishing the statement delivered by Lenart has violated the conference rules. In connection with Lenart's speech the UPI underscores that according to the Czechoslovakian CP the preparations for the Communist Summit Conference cannot be carried out behind closed doors, and if the summit conference shall only give publicity to documents, these per se will not mobilize the parties for anti-imperialist struggle. The AFP brings-dated Prague-without any commentary Lenard's speech.

In connection with the Budapest Preparatory Meeting the session of the Central Committee of the Rumanian CP which ended Thursday stated that Rumania would have been able to attend this meeting if it would have been introduced by a previous, public, international agreement, excluding the possibility of criticism of the internal and foreign policy of any party.

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Kiadja a Magyar Távirati Iroda. Budapest, I. Főm-utca 6-7. Telefon: 159-400, 368-800

A szerkesztésért és kiadásért a vezérigazgató felel.

THE HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS REVIEW

Budapest, 24th April 1968.

Nº. 1.

International events.

The big western news agencies dealt in commentaries with the communist and workers parties Preparatory Committee Meeting opening wednesday in Budapest and primarily liberated on which parties shall not send delegations to the Meeting. According to AFP information the Hungarian organizers have invited every communist party. The AP mentions that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Rumania is in session, and shall decide there on the question of participation. According to the AP "the Rumanians through the publication of the article carried in the Rude Pravo expressed that they have an unfavourable opinion concerning the monolithic unity rallying behind Moscow".

According to an other AP information "the Czechoslovakian delegation arrived to Budapest with the orders to request from the Soviet Union to cease the intervention into the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia... The head of the Czechoslovakian delegation Lenart has allegedly prepared a declaration which he shall submit to the meeting".

The London correspondent of UPI, Thaler dealing with the Meeting of the preparatory committee opening Wednesday underlines: "Several observers consider dubious that the Moscow International Conference of the communist and workers' parties will be held".

Secretary-General of the United Nations U Thant, who on Monday had participated in Teheran at the opening of the international conference on human rights returned via Rome and Paris to New York. He stated in both capitals that he hoped the United States and North Vietnam would reach an agreement before the end of this week, concerning the site of the primary talks. (AFP)

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The representatives of the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain signed on Monday in Washington the international agreement regarding the rescue of cosmonauts. Proceedingly, the diplomats from 40 countries initialed the document. (TASS)

Headed by Todor Zhivkov, a Bulgarian party and government delegation has arrived on Tuesday in Prague, beginning in the afternoon hours talks with the Czechoslovakian party and government delegation. (MTI)

Foreign minister of Yugoslavia Marko Nikezitch arrived on Tuesday in Berlin. During the day he was received by Walter Ulbricht, president of the state council of the GDR. (MTI)

England, in a draft resolution submitted Tuesday to the members of the Security Council urged the introduction of the strictest commercial barriers against the successionist Rhodesian regime. Although observers find the English draft resolution to be energetic in comparison to the economic sanctions adopted in December 1966, this still does not mention the possibility of military intervention to overthrow the Smith regime. (Renter-AP)

It has been officially announced Tuesday evening in Ottawa that the new Canadian government headed by Trudeau dissolved the parliament and announced general elections for the 25th of June. (AFP)

The special emissary of United Nations General-Secretary U Thant to the Near East Gumar Jarring on Tuesday in Jerusalem conferred for one and a half hours with foreign minister of Israel Abba Eban. He gave information concerning his recent visit to Cairo and the talks he had on Monday in Teheran with Secretary-General U Thant. According to information revealed Monday in New York by the Secretariate of the United Nations, Israel, Jordan, the U. A. R. and Syria gave their endorsement to the proposal of U Thant, that in accord with the resolution adopted June 14 1967 by the Security Council, a special United Nations representative should supervise the conduct of the Israeli authorities on the occupied Arab territories with the Arab population. (Reuter, AFP)

A resolution was accepted at the recent plenary session of the Mexican Communist Party, on the basis of the report on the results of the Consultative Meeting of the communist and workers' parties held in Budapest. The resolution underscores that the participants at the plenary session approve the resolution of the consultative meeting regarding the convening of the International Conference of the communist and workers' parties, its date, aims, agenda, site, and the methods for its preparation. (TASS)

Couve de Murville French, and Brandt West German foreign ministers Bonn conference ended on Monday with "putting on ice" the final settlement of the relations between the Common Market and England. The Ministerial Council of the Common Market shall survey on 9th of May the "practical" aspects of this relation. (MTI)

The government of Venezuela resigned on Tuesday after the ministers of the Republican Democratic Union (URD) participating in the



coalition had announced their intentions to leave the government. President Leoni requested the ministers to remain in their posts until the new government is formed. (TASS, AP)

The ministerial meeting of the CENTO military block opened Tuesday in London. English Prime Minister Wilson in his opening speech stated that England shall continue to support CENTO regardless of the decreases in British military expenditure announced in January. (MTI)

The "Kommunist" analyses in a Tuesday editorial the causes which have led to the current Chinese events. It states: "For the deep social and political crisis, which is present today in China, full responsibility is on the Mao Ce-Tung group. This group consciously departed from Marxism-Leninism in the favour of its own aspirations for world power."

The organ of the Communist Party of Rumania the "Scinteia" gives a survey in two columns of the article in the Rude Pravo, which deals with the Budapest Preparatory Committee Meeting and the Moscow International Conference.

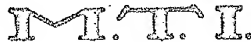
At a reception held Tuesday evening in Washington Johnson stated that the United States on Monday and Tuesday had been in contact with Hanoi, further contacts shall be made on Wednesday to establish the site of the talks. (AP)

The AP also reports from Saigon that South Vietnamese foreign minister Tran Van Do stated that his government has no objections to Paris as the site for the talks. The American news agency sees in this new proof indicating that the the French capital shall be the probable location.

The Reuter reports as "not confirmed" news from Prague that allegedly Dubtchek called upon Soviet ambassador to Prague Tchervonenko unless he stops his meeting of Novotni the Czechoslovakian government shall not send a new ambassador to Moscow to replace Pavlovski who has been appointed minister of labour.

The Czechoslovakian parliament shall be in session today to hear the report of prime minister Cernik on the economic situation and the government's programme.

In a summary report from Cairo the AFP referring to "Egyptian official sources" writes on the alteration of the stand of the UAR. Accordingly, Cairo unreservedly accepts the Security Council resolution. She is ready to guarantee Israel free sailing "in the international waters of the area" with the supposition that Israel shall withdraw her troops from the occupied territory and the question of the Palestine refugees shall be settled.



Kiadja a Magyar Távirati Iroda. Budapest, I. Fém-utca 5-7. Telefon: 186-400, 266-800

A szerkesztésért és kiadásért a vezérigazgató felel.

# THE HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY'S INTERNATIONAL NEWS REVIEW

Budapest, 25th April 1968.

N<sup>o</sup>. 2.

## International Response to the Meeting in

### Budapest

The big Western news agencies cover the Budapest Meeting of the preparatory committee in several commentaries. The AFP in its report from Budapest remarks that the Meeting shall be held behind closed doors, and indicates that at the Wednesday afternoon session Zoltán Komócsin secretary of the CC of the HSWP had delivered a speech the opening speech. An other article of the French news agency says that from the total number of 87 parties invited 44 have sent delegates. It adds to this that "according to the organizers the work of the preparatory committee does not necessitate the attendance of every party".

The Moscow correspondent of the AFP referring to observers reports that "the Czechoslovakian events and the outlooks of the Vietnamese question have created a new atmosphere around the Budapest meeting... The theme of unity has become a primary one, the struggle against imperialism has been pushed into the background, the same way as the Chinese question has, which is important for Moscow."

The Reuter covers in a short report the beginning of the work of the preparatory committee.

The American press on Wednesday deal with the Budapest meeting from the aspect of the article published on Tuesday in the "Kommunist". According to certain American papers the article was carried as a preparation for the meeting

The Paris "Le Mond" carries on Wednesday the report of Tatu from Vienna, its headline underscoring that the conduct of the Czechoslovakian delegation is in the focus of interest at the Budapest Meeting.

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According to Tatu "the Czechoslovakian matter strongly indicated the relative value of such meetings. The question is well put for whom shall the texts to be drafted now be valid at the end of the year in Moscow and to what a degree".

The Yugoslavian press dealing with the Rumanian conduct has the opinion that "on the basis of the recent statements made by Rumanian politicians Rumania continues to adhere to her standpoint voiced at the February Budapest Consultative Meeting. She demands that relations be democratized in the international communist and working class movement, the out-dated procedure be liquidated and that the international communist movement open its doors to all democratic and anti-imperialist forces".

On Wednesday the "Die Presse" published in Vienna in connection with the article carried by the "Kommunist" dealing with China writes that "Moscow is intensifying the oral aggressivity against Peking". According to the Vienna paper "Moscow in spite of this must realize that her original plan to utilize the Moscow Conference to outlaw the Chinese line is not feasible". Finally, the Die Presse voices the opinion that "the brief time elapsed between the two Budapest meetings has not worked in the favour of Moscow, Czechoslovakia has also started out on an individual road, the Rumanians are postponing their participation, and half of the communist parties in power are not represented in Budapest".

#### International News

United Nations Secretary - General U Thant in a Wednesday statement proposed that the primary discussions between the United States and the DRV be held in either Warsaw or Paris. The Secretary - General called for a decrease in the level of hostilities. (AFP) A spokesman for the American State Department stated on Wednesday that the representatives of the USA and the DRV "are in personal and direct contact with each other" in the capital of Laos. At the same time the spokesman emphasized that regarding the site of the talks in merit "there is no advance". (MTI)

A two days session of the Czechoslovakian parliament opened on Wednesday in Prague. Prime minister Cernik delivered the government's report on its programme. After the report had been heard a discussion started in which the first to speak was first secretary of the CC of the Czechoslovakian CP Dubtchek. (MTI)

Jordan requested on Wednesday the meeting of the Security Council to discuss the situation in Jerusalem. Prime minister of Jordan Talhuni stated that first of all Israel's aim to hold on the 2nd of May in Jerusalem a large scale military parade must be refuted. (AFP)

The ministerial meeting of the military block CENTO ended in London on Wednesday. According to the unanimous opinion of observers the meeting once again revealed that the "right of existance" of the CENTO is being washed out, since Iran, Turkey and Pakistan are maintaining friendly contacts with the Soviet Union, and England is compelled to cut her military obligations. (MTI)

A primary election was held on Tuesday in Pennsylvania. Senator McCarthy won with a big majority on the democratlist. The majority of the republican votes were secured by Nixon in front of governor of New York Rockefeller.

Marshal Jakubovski, commander of the united armed forces of the Warsaw Pact, arrived on Wednesday in Prague, after having visited last week Poland, the GDR, and Bulgaria. (MTI)

On Wednesday, at the end of the session of the Central Committee of the Rumanian CP Ceausescu in a speech emphasized: peaceful coexistende by all means does not mean coexistence with bourgeoise concepts. It cannot mean giving up the ideological struggle for the victory of dialectical and historical materialism. Speaking on the importance of national traditions he stated that the appreciation of progressive traditions must not hide the fact that there were retrograde concepts in Rumania. (AFP)

In today's issue of the Moscow Pravda the article of Professor Kovaljov, doctor of philosophy is carried written on the 150th anniversary of the birth of Marx. Its basic thought is that marxism-leninism today is not on the defensive, but is in attack against bourgeoise ideology. (TASS)

Alternate member of the Political Committee of the Polish UWP Jastchuk in the course of a meeting for party activists held in Opole stated that it has been proved that the main enemy is not cionism, but social reactionism and revisionism. This naturally serves as a wonderful ground for cionism. The AP remarks that the statement made by Jastchuk which wishes to belittle the danger of cionism follows the Gomulka line and indicates a divergency in the party.

The AP reports that a new communist successionist group has been formed in Brasil, which unites the "radical revolutionaries" headed by Marighella, who had been expelled in 1967 from the Communist Party of Brasil due to his condemnation of the party's non-violence policy.

The French parliament Wednesday night voted on the motion of non-confidence submitted by the left-wing democratic-socialist federation. The question of television advertisements served as the basis of the motion. The motion received only 236 votes, while 244 would have been necessary to have the government resign. (AFP)

Robert Kennedy delivered a speech at the Bloomington University in Indiana. He stated that there is no need for new Vietnams, since the war in Vietnam has demonstrated that even with the power and strength of the United States governments can not be forced on countries. Such policy is only in favour of the communists since it creates an alliance between nationalists and communists. (AP)

The 22nd General Assembly of the United Nations which had opened on Wednesday has been adjourned once again without seeing a date for its continuance. Observers seem to know that the Assembly shall reconvene on Monday. First of all the question of South-West Africa shall

be discussed. The further items on the agenda: the non-atom, nuclear non-proliferation treaty and the Near-East situations. Mauritius has been accepted on Wednesday as the 124th member state of the organization. (TASS)

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

## Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/9/68

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

ReBulet to NY 3/25/68, authorizing interview with  
[redacted] Bufile 100-388553) for SOLO purposes.

On 4/22/68, [redacted] was observed by SAS [redacted]  
[redacted] and JOHN A. HAAG leaving his residence, [redacted]  
Street, New York City. He was placed under surveillance.  
He walked west on 96th Street and entered a branch (City)  
library near Park Avenue, New York City.

Some time later he left the library and while SA HAAG  
watched and listened from nearby. SA [redacted] approached [redacted]  
and greeted him by name. [redacted] acknowledged his identity  
and stood by smiling and ready to converse. SA [redacted] asked,  
"If you ever find yourself in a position to aid the US Government,  
will you?". Startled, but still smiling, [redacted] answered,  
"Is this some kind of joke?". SA [redacted] immediately identified  
himself and [redacted] demeanor began to change. Cool, but  
still curious, he inquired as to why he was being contacted. b6  
But before the contacting SA could fully answer, [redacted] b7C  
interrupted and commented, "No. No. I shouldn't talk to people b7D  
like you." With that he turned and prepared to leave. But  
before he could do so, SA [redacted] remarked that he was disappointed  
at [redacted] reaction and hoped that after reconsidering  
the matter thoroughly, [redacted] would take advantage of this  
opportunity to discuss mutually interesting matters with the  
FBI. [redacted] appeared to seriously consider the prospect,  
but would not pursue the matter at that time.

This was [redacted] first contact with the FBI since b6  
1953. He was surprised and obviously at a loss for words. b7C  
He is being given time to reflect and he will be recontacted b7D  
within the next 45 days.

1-904  
2-Bureau (100-428091) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (41)

RJQ:eac  
(3)

EX-102

MAY 10 1968

RC  
INT-SEC

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30  
EX-102  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

Pls to New York  
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5/13/68

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/8/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

ReCGlet dated May 1, 1968 and Bulet to Chicago dated May 7, 1968, captioned as above.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two Xerox copies of a booklet received from the Socialist Unity Party of Germany requested in reBulet which had previously been furnished to the Chicago Office through a Solo mail drop.

REC-21

11 MAY 16 1968

1cc 904-D  
②-Bureau (Enc 2) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RAV:MDW  
(3)

Copy to  
by routing slip for

☒ Info ☐ action

date 5-13-68

by RCP/ah



99 MAY 21 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/10/68

FROM : *WYH* SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-62274)

SUBJECT:

*SOLO*

(REPLACEMENT AND  
NEUTRALIZATION PROGRAM)

Re New York letter to Bureau dated 4/17/68, and  
Bureau letter to New York dated 4/24/68.

Set forth below are the comments requested by  
New York and the Bureau concerning utilization of [redacted]  
in the above captioned program.

b7D

As the Bureau has pointed out in referenced  
Bureau letter, informant is imposing in a physical sense  
in that he is approximately 6'3" tall, [redacted]  
and has [redacted] For the information of the  
Bureau, he no longer [redacted] but [redacted]  
a [redacted] through the  
efforts of the Southern California District Communist  
Party (SCDCP).

b7D

Informant is single and at present has no romantic  
entanglements. Upon his return from New York, he is  
scheduled to [redacted] at  
Los Angeles (UCLA) to finish up [redacted] work for a [redacted]  
degree. In the past, he has indicated that he wishes to  
take [redacted] and has made inquiry at  
University of California at Berkeley, University of Chicago,  
and at the University of Pennsylvania. He has also  
contemplated doing graduate work abroad and has had an  
intense [redacted]

b7D

It is believed that informant has the intelligence  
and the poise to be utilized in captioned program, but it  
is not known whether he would agree to move to New York  
for the purpose of assisting the Bureau. He has indicated  
that if he could continue to assist the Bureau in his  
search for higher education, he would be glad to do so,  
even on a foreign assignment.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- ② - New York (100-134647 Sub [redacted])
- ② - Los Angeles

(1)  
RHB/RB  
(6)

REC-21

100-428091-6941

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b7D



LA 100-62274

As the Bureau is aware, he is presently being utilized under the Counter-Intelligence Program in regard to operations directed against North Vietnam and anti-war groups within this country.

It is to be noted, however, that in the past, informant has [redacted] against the GUS HALL faction, even though he has apparently [redacted] [redacted] with HELEN WINTER.

If the Bureau believes that informant could be utilized in the above operation, it is suggested that such utilization be held in abeyance until informant has returned to Los Angeles and until such time as he can be interviewed by the contacting Agent in order to determine the best approach to be used to persuade the informant to become involved in this program.

b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/14/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are two Xerox copies each of an article sent to "Political Affairs" and an accompanying note, and one copy each to New York for information.

On May 6, 1968, CG 5824-S\* returned from the 26th Solo Mission. On this date CG 5824-S\* furnished various materials and documents to SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE.

Among this material is an article originally written by GEORGE WHEELER, a Communist Party (CP), USA member residing in Prague, who is employed at the World Federation of Trade Unions, dated March 15, 1968, with an accompanying note dated May 4. This article submitted to "Political Affairs", theoretical journal of the CP, USA, is entitled "A New Stage in Development of Socialism."

Source advised that BETTY CANNETT, a National Executive Board member of the CP, USA and editor of "Political Affairs", stated she could not use the article because she was afraid to print it.

The original letter and note are being returned to CG 5824-S\*.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 2) (Info) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RAV:mes  
(4)

EX-115 REC 6/11/68

11 MAY 17 1968



98 MAY 20 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ENCLOSURES TO BUREAU (4)

Two (2) Xerox copies each of article  
sent to "Political Affairs" & an  
accompanying note

Bureau 100-428091  
Chicago 134-46 Sub B  
Letter dated 5/14/68



ENCLOSURE

May 4

This is a copy as originally sent to PA. I somewhat updated it in returning it. Putting in such items as the new Minister of Interior, Josef Pavel, banning all bugging, making those who do it subject to punishment. Pavel was one of those jailed five years by Novotny for having fought in Spain! This was not intended as a definitive article- just to inform readers that a vital development was taking place, and to give some of the flavor of it. Now quite different articles should be written in addition.

L

George S. Wheeler

Šrobárova 28

Praha 10      15 March 1968

### A New Stage in Development of Socialism

Czechoslovakia today is certainly one of the most exhilarating places in the world. It is attempting an advance in human and social relations to a new stage of socialism that is not only economically but politically more democratic than anything yet attained.

The Czechoslovak people have come a long way in what is essentially the transition from the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat to full political democracy. Radio and television have come to life with exciting debates and newspapers are sold out by 7.00 in the morning. For the most part it is high-level discussion of past deficiencies and future programs. The people are fully aware and proud of what they are doing. Tempers sometimes flare, but there is a deliberate attempt to avoid violence, to reinforce legality. Typical was the reaction of one young scientist who kept repeating, as if he could not get enough of the idea, "We now have the most advanced democracy in the world." Perhaps. At least Czechoslovakia is moving quickly in that direction, but the road ahead is a long and tricky one, and, as in the case of all great human advances, it is much misunderstood and sharply resisted.

#### The basis for the change

It is not at all accidental, and it should not be surprising, that this pioneering effort is being made here. The Czechoslovak people are certainly among the most politically mature in the world. Their highly developed economy, as I reported two years ago in Political Affairs /"The New System of Management and Socialist Democracy," March 1966/ outgrew the centralized, directive system of government. Among other things too many directives and lack of competition killed local initiative. The extensive types of investment, that in the early stages had been effective in promoting growth, had reached the point at which many resources, including particularly labor power, were fully employed. An increasing amount of construction was uncompleted and new factories were undermanned. Costs rose sharply and often quality declined, and in addition there was a lack of responsiveness to consumer demand that the people found more and more irritating. Standards of living advanced only

slowly, and at the beginning of the 1960's even declined slightly. Instead of continuing to overtake the advanced capitalist countries, the rate of progress in such key factors, as productivity began to lag behind.

The economic reasons for this were thoroughly analyzed by Professor Ota Šik, director of the Economic Institute of the Academy of Sciences, in his book Plan and Market Under Socialism.<sup>1/</sup> The theoretical parts of Šik's book are hard going and will be needed mainly by economists, but the long section on the economic developments in Czechoslovakia is the most lucid and specific analysis of the present problems of anything available in the English language. It should be required reading of everyone before he passes judgement on the political-economic trends here. I concluded my March 1966 article with the statement: "The socialist countries are now moving toward higher forms of democracy, and will continue to do so despite some ups and downs, because a lively democracy is essential to the good management of socialist economies." This remains the key to the really revolutionary upsurge that is now taking place in Czechoslovakia. One way of seeing the character of the debate and how widespread are its effects is to summarize events in some of the main organizations. But please be warned that one article of this length could not do justice to one day's events: meetings last as long as six hours, and are only adjourned to resume in even bigger halls; radio debates last three hours; a dozen important persons speak in all parts of the country; cabinet ministers resign; a general flees and a top officer in the ministry of defense commits suicide; trade union officials resign and a general demand is made for the reexamination of all political trials of the past twenty years and the full rehabilitation of all persons and organizations that were unjustly condemned. For this reason this article can not pretend to be complete, much less, definitive.

#### The Communist Party

The most important organization in Czechoslovakia has been the Communist Party, and it was necessary that the reform movement start in the Central Committee of the party itself. In its leading role in shaping policy the Communist Party had not only made many correct decisions that had consolidated and developed socialism - its members

<sup>1/</sup> Ota Šik, Plan and Market Under Socialism, Akademia Publishing House, Prague, 1967. English edition distributed by IASP. White Plains, N.Y.

had also had an active part in both forming and carrying out policies which are now regarded as wrong. This included, in the first place, the political trials. Reexamination of these trials, and the rehabilitation of the victims had begun under President Zápotocký. After his death Antonín Novotný became president, while retaining his post as First Secretary of the Communist Party. This represented a considerable consolidation of his power and was followed by a gradual and general centralization of Party functions and in many cases an intervention in the administration of other organizations of the government, in industry and agriculture, and voluntary organizations, such as the trade unions and writer's union. At the 13th Party Congress in May-June 1966 these tendencies to expand the "leading role" of the Party from policy leadership into administration, were sharply criticized.

Within the Central Committee a persistent struggle was taking place between those who advocated less centralized and arbitrary methods of managing the economy and more freedom in cultural and political life and those led by President Novotný who wanted to maintain the status quo. After the decisions of the 13th Congress, the young progressives were able to move forward with plans for reorganizing the methods of planning, of decentralizing the administration of production and reforming the system of incentives. But the conservatives retained the balance of power and often used it arbitrarily. For example, Čestmír Císar, one of the most effective of the progressives, was removed from his post in the Central Committee and appointed as Minister of Education and Culture. When he became too popular with the university students he was sent as Ambassador to Rumania. Others such as Professor Šik, were forbidden to speak at public meetings. A tight censorship of the press, radio, television and motion pictures was maintained of all criticism of the conservatives or their policies.

A year ago in February debate in the Central Committee on the democratization of the Party and of the Central Committee itself, was cut off with only one dissenting vote. By October an open vote showed 18 members for continuing the debate which now centered on the need to separate the functions of First Secretary and President. Jiří Hendrych, secretary of the Central Committee had been regarded as a leading candidate for the post of First Secretary in the event that Novotný was persuaded to resign. But Hendrych had discredited

himself by his arbitrary conduct at the writer's congress, in closing down their journal Literární noviny, and in having expelled from the Party such popular writers as Pavel Kohout. He later criticized these actions, but it was too late to save himself. The progressive tide in the Country and in the Central Committee was running too strongly. A young and progressive Slovak, Alexander Dubček, who had had his higher education in the Soviet Union and who had fought as a partizan to liberate Czechoslovakia from the Nazis, had become increasingly influential in the Central Committee. On January 6 it was announced that President Novotný had stepped down from his post as First Secretary and that Dubček had been elected to the position.

This was a crucial victory for the reformers. Soon Hendrych announced that he would resign from the secretaryship of the Central Committee, and Josef Špaček, another young progressive, replaced him. Now it has been announced that Cisar has been recalled and given the important post in the Central Committee heading the Education, Science and Culture Section. It can be seen that the Communist Party has carried out in a short time a remarkable reorganization of itself in which those who advocate more democratic rights for the people have come to the fore. One of their most significant actions has been to lift the censorship that had cut off free debate of political and economic issues.

#### The Trade Unions

With the censors gone, the most remarkable revelations began to take place, sometimes with the organization's own publication attacking the bureaucracy and incompetence of its leading officials--and documenting the attack with facts that could not be denied. A good example is Prace /Labor/, the daily newspaper of the trade unions, which revealed that for twenty years the central officials of the trade union had not accounted for the members dues. They had instead insisted that such information was "secret." /7 March 1968/ It also carried stories showing that the top officials had not fought to protect the rights of workers -- for example not protesting against a proposed tax on pensions.

Prace also /13 March/ printed a discussion of the workers at the engineering plant at Modřany which shows how arbitrary acts by central organizations can disrupt the application of the new system of management and turn the workers against it. Jan Kotěbořský of the maintenance department remarked: "We are so badly informed that we do not even know what is the fault of the new system and what is



the fault of its half-hearted introduction." The complaint of the workers was that they had signed a labor contract which specified that if they increased their output their wages would go up. After they did increase their productivity a Government directive, No. 228 came down which nullified the contract and cut back their wages.

A welder, Jiří Šubrt, protested: "To urge the workers to take part in socialist emulation does not cost the leadership of the ROH /trade union/ much. By our initiative we toil more in the same or even worse conditions." In reply the chairman of the local union committee, Jiří Kubák, placed the blame on the higher officials, who should have warned that the local could not make such an agreement, or once permitted, should have insisted that it have the force of law -- as it legally did. Kubák concluded that the central administration had made him look like a fool and "I would not wish my worst enemy to be in such a position." As a result of such criticism Miroslav Pastyřik, Chairman of the Central Council of the trade unions, and two of his top aides have resigned. /Práce, 13 March 1968./

Not only was the Directive No. 228 arbitrary and illegal in revoking a binding trade union contract, it was also based on bad economics. It arose from a fear of inflation, when following the introduction of the new system many enterprises raised their prices and had excessive profits. But the cause of the price increase did not lie in the increased wages since they were based on increased productivity. The contract, by stimulating production and a cut in unit costs was actually deflationary. Such mishandling of their affairs has aroused resentment on the part of the workers, and sometimes, as Prof. Ota Šik charged at a meeting with Prague students on March 14, the "conservative forces responsible for many years of stagnation of living standards" now try to misuse this resentment and blame the new system of management for the lack of progress. It is not likely that the conservatives succeed in separating the workers from the intellectuals who are leading the reform because it is clear that the economic problems arose under the old system of management. Also the arbitrary practices, which the workers resent as much as the intellectuals, was a characteristic of the old system and the old functionaries can not change their ways quickly. They continue to make pronouncements that "the workers think this" or "want that" - without asking them in advance. Now we have many workers

and young people from factories as well, as students protesting against policies "Because we were not consulted. We do not want other people announcing what we think."

Prace /13 March/ quoted an ordinary worker as saying: "I do not like people who want to divide workers and technicians into two camps. We need each other and are working in common. If this were left to us we could always come to an agreement. The troubles begin when everything is directed from above... If the economic reform means that bad work is paid badly and good work is paid as well as possible-- this is exactly what all of us have been demanding for a long time." This is the main hope of the reform, that the workers are mature enough to understand their long-run interests and that under socialism their interests coincide with economic development, which requires science and technology. Some /certainly not all/ of the older leaders were former workers with little formal education and so have been suspicious of the intellectuals, trying to put the question back to one of personalities, even of nationalism or religion. We can see this in the kind of debate now taking place on the radio and television.

#### The press and radio

A characteristic of the reform movement is that it is insisting that their own argument be based on facts, but in not suppressing the right to speak of those who argue in the old method. In fact this kind of exchange is invited as the following quotations from Prague radio of March 10 shows. Milan Weiner, a radio commentator had been criticizing the methods of holding the elections and invited comments to be phoned in for broadcasting. The following resulted:

"I would like to ask you, Mr. Weiner, if anything good was done at all in this republic in the last 20 years."

Weiner: "Of course there has."

Zaruba: "My name is Zaruba, I can give you my address and telephone number."

Weiner: "I believe you."

Zaruba: "The way you are speaking now you are acting as an agent of imperialism."

Weiner: "An agent of imperialism?"

Zaruba: "Sure... You are leading the republic to the right and I am pushing it to the left. That is the whole problem."

Weiner: "Well, well! In that case come to the radio and give your opinion..."

Zaruba: "You are all hoodlums, you are spitting on the republic... I would like to know how long you have been a member of the /Communist/ party? To make it clear, I have been a member since 1939."

Weiner: "I have been a party member since 1942. I entered the party in the concentration camp. So you see I did not join after 1948 and I am not an imperialist agent."

Zaruba: "I will probably not be able to stay in the same party with you. There will have to be two parties."

Weiner: "That would be very interesting."

The upshot of this conversation was that the next day Zaruba came to the radio and a debate was broadcast live for more than an hour in which Zaruba attacked Weiner, among other things, for agreeing that there might be a need for two political parties. In the end Weiner said that he was very content, since "the darkest period of socialist Czechoslovakia had started with the suppression of freedom of speech and freedom of criticism." In another broadcast he said that the great majority of the comments were favorable, but ~~th~~ he played back one caller that asked: "Have you ever worked? Did you farther ever work? Why do you not go back to Israel?" The caller preferred to remain anonymous.

#### The students.

We can not review the ferment in all organizations, but let us take a glimpse at the young people. One of protests that touched off the present upheaval was a student march from their dormitories on the hills overlooking Prague to the nearby castle where President Novotny lives and has his offices. They had repeatedly protested the poor food and above all the fact that, even though they were studying for examinations, the electric lights were unaccountably turned off. Their protests to their own organization the ČSM /Union of Czechoslovak Youth/ had gone unanswered, as had all other appeals. In a completely spontaneous outpouring from their rooms, they started a candlelight parade toward the Castle. They were met by the police who beat them up, sending six to the hospital /two of the police also needed medical care/. Prague was outraged, particularly after the law faculty insisted that they had a constitutional right to such demonstrations, and after the surgeons and students had given their story in a movie short shown in all the republic. All of the student demands were met withing a few day's after the demonstration-- including the removal of the superintendant of the dormitories.

The ČSM leadership has come under fire for not taking any action in these events and for a long-term neglect of student interests. Again we find that the paper of the organization, Mlada fronta /Youth Front/ has taken the lead in exposing the bureaucratic attitude of the top officials. On March 14 one of its reporters asked Miroslav Zavadil what the ČSM was doing about rehabilitation of young people. Zavadil tried the typical bureaucratic trick of buck-passing: "It is a Party matter." But the reporter did not let him off so easily: "What about members of the ČSM, such as Zdeněk Hejzlar?" Hejzlar had been removed from leadership in the ČSM 17 years before and only now was permitted to speak again in Prague. /He is, incidentally, one of the most witty yet sober and popular of the speakers./ Zavadil replied that Hejzlar's case was being reviewed and that the ČSM would plead for him. The reporter asked if Zavadil thought that that was enough-- and what about Radka Cisařova? Radka, the daughter of Cisař, had been arrested at the student May Day celebrations and branded as a "hooligan" as part of the campaign against Cisař. Zavadil then agreed that something more should be done by the ČSM in rehabilitating its former members. It is a safe bet that there will be new leadership in the ČSM since it has been so "do nothing" that it has rapidly lost members and influence. Now there is a big movement among students and other young people to form a new organization of youth. Meetings are going on all around the country, and in Slovakia some parades. But here, the students called off a demonstration after people they respected such as Hejzlar and Josef Smrkovsky had said that such outside demonstrations were difficult to control and that events such as in Hungary or Warsaw would only help the reactionaries.

Smrkovsky, himself a victim of the Slensky trial period, is now Minister of Forestry and Water Management, and one of the most sought after speakers. He told a group of students: "Young people must run their own organizations, but please be responsible, not like the Warsaw demonstrations. I tell you plainly, we have a great debt to the people of the Soviet Union. Look to the West.. I would be afraid to stand on this platform if it were not for the power of the Soviet Union." Asked about the anti-Semitism that is evident in the Polish dispute he threw back: "There is anti-Semitism right here

and it is a sign of intellectual immaturity. You must fight it. I say to it: Shame! Shame! Shame!" The students applauded.

#### The Action Program

All of the leaders of the democratization program realize the need for criticism of past injustices. But they also know that the revelations of past abuses of political power will lead to demands for revenge and new trials-- and that they want to avoid-- unless actual embezzlement is involved. When Goldstucker, the new head of the Writers Union asked students who were interviewing him if they wanted new trials, they agreed that they did not. But they did think, and this is the general opinion, including that of Parliament, that some of those primarily responsible, such as the Chief Prosecutor, must be removed from office. We can expect that this will be done, not only at the top, but also of many local officials who did not act as socialist officials should.

But such action will not be enough. To make real advances Czechoslovakia needs an all-round political democratization as an integral part of its development of socialism. For this a new "Action Program" is being drawn up. A first draft has already been discussed in some party meetings, and the current general debate is being used to amend and add to it. But, even if it is in imperfect form, it has been decided to publish it by the end of March. It will deal with a whole range of topics from censorship to work norms. It will look ahead, not back, and provide the program for a constructive use of the present revolutionary upsurge. It seems now that this will be done and that Czechoslovakia will progress to a new stage of socialism, more democratic than anything yet attempted, more responsive to the thinking and economic needs of its people.

At this stage of world affairs, with democracy in the United States in deep trouble, all progressive people should try to keep an open mind to these courageous attempts to give a deeper, more profoundly enlightened meaning to socialist democracy.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/14/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith are the original and three copies for the Bureau, and one copy for New York, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "QUESTIONS PRESENTED TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA ON ITS ACTION PROGRAM."

The information in the LHM was furnished to SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE on May 6 and 8, 1968, by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past.

The information furnished by CG 5824-S\* was received by him from NORMAN FREED, member of the Executive Committee, Communist Party of Canada, while both were in attendance at the meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Communist and Workers Parties held in Budapest, Hungary, during the period April 24-28, 1968, and through a subsequent phone call between FREED and CG 5824-S\*.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~SECRET~~" in order to protect the identity of this source, who has furnished information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, the unauthorized disclosure of which could jeopardize his security, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D.C.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-434637) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

RAV:mes  
(4)



99 MAY 23 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

May 14, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~SECRET~~

QUESTIONS PRESENTED TO THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CANADA ON ITS ACTION PROGRAM

During May, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, learned of the following information:

During late April, 1968, Norman Freed, a member of the Executive Committee, Communist Party (CP) of Canada, had a discussion with the leadership of the CP of Czechoslovakia, at which time he presented to them a list of questions concerning the CP of Czechoslovakia's Action Program. He informed them he would like to have the answers to these questions published in the CP papers of both Canada and the United States.

He was advised by the CP of Czechoslovakia leadership that they did not have time to discuss the questions fully and would like him to have the questions presented in writing.

Freed subsequently presented the questions in writing to the leadership of the CP of Czechoslovakia with the request that the answers be given to John Boyd, a member of the Central Committee of the CP of Canada and the representative of both the CP of Canada and the CP, USA,

~~SECRET~~

~~Group I~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-425,71-6943

ENCLOSURE

QUESTIONS PRESENTED TO THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CANADA ON ITS ACTION PROGRAM

~~SECRET~~

at the "World Marxist Review", theoretical and information journal of Communist and Workers' Parties in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Source learned that as of early May, 1968, the leadership of the CP of Czechoslovakia still had not found time to answer the written questions presented by Freed. These questions were as follows:

How will the Action Program find concrete expression in the economic problems of Czechoslovakia in the immediate future?

How will the country's economy now be directed?

Will private enterprise play a role in the service sector of the economy and what are the compelling factors for such a development?

What structural changes will be introduced to provide guarantees that will safeguard against any abuses of socialist democracy so that this does not in the future depend on the good will or understanding of an individual or of a particular party body?

In light of the increased independent role and authority of the state organs and other public institutions, what changes are envisaged in the role of the Party and in the character and methods of its work?

How will the concept of the independence of the judiciary organs and the inviolability of socialist law be guaranteed?

What concrete measures are planned to provide for greater participation by the young people in the state organs, in the Party, in educational institutions and in other spheres of life?

~~SECRET~~



QUESTIONS PRESENTED TO THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY THE COMMUNIST  
PARTY OF CANADA ON ITS ACTION PROGRAM

~~SECRET~~

What is meant by the view expressed that Czechoslovakia will now display more initiative and originality in its foreign policy?

What is the social basis of the continued existence of other political parties and what changes are foreseen in the relationship between the CP of Czechoslovakia and the other political parties?

What structural changes and constitutional changes are planned in the state, economic and other relationships between the two nations - Czechs and Slovaks?

What new relationships will be established with the national minorities in Czechoslovakia?

How will the influence of Marxism-Leninism find its expression within the greater freedom of art and culture, the right to dissent and full freedom of opinion?

What changes are foreseen in order to give people more individual freedom yet at the same time strengthen the responsibility of the individual to society.

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES

DEPARTMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTE

ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/10/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

Attn: Cryptanalysis - Translation  
Section, FBI Laboratory

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Attached herewith for the Bureau and the New York Office is one copy each of a letter and postcard written in the Spanish language.

The letter and card were furnished to SAs ROBERT A. VILLENUEVE and WALTER A. BOYLE by CG 5824-S\* on May 6, 1968, on his return to Chicago from the 26th Solo Mission. CG 5824-S\* received these items from EDUARDO GALLEGOS MANCERA, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party of Venezuela, and a delegate to the meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of the Communist and Workers Parties held April 24-28, 1968, in Budapest, Hungary.

The Cryptanalysis - Translation Section of the FBI Laboratory is requested to prepare a full translation of these items and furnish the copies to Chicago and New York. For the information of the Bureau, these items were mailed from Chicago on May 8, 1968. The letter was addressed to L. FRIAS, APARATDO, 7648 Oficina Nueva Granada, Caracas, Venezuela.

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)  
1 - FBI Laboratory  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 2) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

RAV:mes  
(5)



COPY AND SPECIMENS RETAINED IN LAB  
FOR LAB. ACTION AND REPORT

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

98 MAY 27 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ROUTED TO ENVELOPE

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/14/68

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith are two Xerox copies for the Bureau, and one Xerox copy for New York, of the "Information Bulletin" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Czechoslovakia.

On May 6, 1968, CG 5824-S\* returned to Chicago from the 26th Solo Mission which commenced on April 17, 1968. Source furnished SAs ROBERT A. VILLEMURE and WALTER A. BOYLE on this date various materials and documents which are being furnished to the Bureau.

Copies of the "Information Bulletin" which contain the Action Program of the CP of Czechoslovakia adopted at the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the CP of Czechoslovakia on April 5, 1968, are being furnished for the information of the Bureau and New York.

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

ENCLOSURE

RAV:mes  
(4)

EX-115

REC 6

6944

Copy to Director, FBI  
by routing slip for Chicago  
☒ action  
date 5-21-68  
by R.S.P./BT

MAY 17 1968

INT. SEC.



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

98 MAY 27 1968

CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

INFORMATION  
BULLETIN

No 2

Prague

1968

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-6947

**THE ACTION PROGRAMME OF THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

adopted at the plenary session of the  
Central Committee of the Communist Party  
of Czechoslovakia on April 5th 1968

Prague, April 1968

## THE CZECHOSLOVAK ROAD TO SOCIALISM

The social movement in the Czech lands and in Slovakia during the 20th century was carried along by two great currents - the national liberation movement and socialism.

The national liberation struggle of both nations culminated in the emergence of an independent state in which, for the first time in history, the political unity of the Czechs and Slovaks in a single state was realized. The founding of the Czechoslovak Republic marked important progress in the national and social development of both nations. The democratic order eliminated the old monarchist remnants and created favourable conditions for fast progress in all spheres of national life.

The pre-war bourgeois order, however, did not solve the onerous class antagonisms and was not able to lay reliable foundations for the lasting prosperity of the new economic entity and to guarantee the workers and employees full employment and a secure existence. Its nationalist regime, though liberal towards the minorities, ignored the individuality of the Slovak nation and did not succeed in eliminating the influence of extreme nationalism and in introducing the harmony desirable among all nationalities of the Republic. Under the conditions prevailing at that time in capitalist

Europe, not even the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic could be permanently safeguarded.

The progressive forces tried to give an answer to these shortcomings. Their most energetic component was the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia which was striving for a socialist conception of the Czechoslovak society.

In the broad wave of the anti-fascist movement which was born in connexion with the breaking up of Czechoslovakia as it existed between the wars, and especially in the course of the national liberation struggle, the integration of socialism with the national and democratic movement began to take shape.

During the national and democratic revolution of 1944-45 the national and democratic values of socialism were united for the first time. The democratic and national movement began to be socialized and socialism became a really national and democratic affair. The road to socialism taken by Czechoslovakia, at the beginning of which, in 1944-45, stood the Slovak National Uprising and the Prague Uprising is the source of the most progressive traditions of modern Czech and Slovak history.

The Republic, whose liberation was the result of the heroic fighting of the Soviet Army and the national liberation struggle of the Czechoslovak people, was restored on new foundations. These facilitated the solving of the most acute national problems in the country; the existence of the Republic as a State was ensured by close alliance with the Soviet Union; by nationalization the Republic gained an economic system providing conditions not only for rapid restoration but also for further development of the economy towards socialism. The considerable expansion of internal political freedoms was the true culmination of the whole democratic tradition of Czechoslovakia's development. Socialism became the embodiment of the modern national programme of the Czechs and Slovaks.

Czechoslovakia was the first industrial country to realize socialist reconstruction. The policy of Czechoslovakia's road to socialism, as pursued from 1945 to 1948, was an expression of the endeavours to respect the complexity of the specific internal and international conditions of Czechoslovakia. It contained many elements the understanding of which could contribute towards achieving our present aim of democratizing the socialist order.

We identify ourselves with traditions of the liberation struggle in which patriots participated at home and in various parts of Europe and the world, 375,000 of whom gave their lives for these ideals. We will support a scientific examination of the history of both nations, the conclusions of which cannot be decreed by anyone, but can only be the result of the study of history itself. The February victory of the working people was an important milestone in the socialist development of post-war Czechoslovakia, which created preconditions for accelerating the advance to socialism. After February 1948 the Party took a new road of socialist construction with a fund of great confidence and support of the broadest strata of the population.

This was a difficult road. In a divided world in the grips of cold war, our nations had to increase their efforts to safeguard their hardly won national existence and had to concentrate on reinforcing their own defence and that of all the other socialist states. The building up of the new Republic, which was far from having the internal resources essential for developing the economy, was closely connected with the progress and problems of the whole socialist camp. The inclusion of the Republic in the system of socialist states brought substantial changes in the direction of development of the national economy and also in its internal structure, in the character of the state and the social order. This was a matter of respecting the joint tasks of these countries in which the combating of economic and cultural

retardation interwoven with the creation of new forms of ownership, played a leading role.

These connexions and tasks influenced the speed, form and content of the profound economic, social and political reconstruction which the Republic was going through during the building of socialism. They impelled an exceptional exertion of energy of the working class and the whole people, great sacrifice of communists and the dedicated work of tens of thousands of functionaries.

With the size, exceptionality and challenge of the changes, however, correspond the contradictions of development, the grave shortcomings, unsolved problems and deformation of socialist principles which are known as the personality cult.

The construction of the new social system was marked by insufficient experience, lack of knowledge, by dogmatism and subjectivism. Many signs of the times, conditioned by the sharpened international situation and compulsory acceleration in building up industry, were understood as the generally valid forms of the life and development of a socialist society. The stage of development of the socialist states at the beginning of the fifties and the arrest of the creative development of knowledge concomitant with the personality cult, conditioned also a mechanical acceptance and spreading of ideas, customs and political conceptions which were at variance with Czechoslovak conditions and traditions. The leading bodies and institutes of the Party and the State of that time are fully responsible for that acceptance. The centralized and directive-administrative methods used during the fight against the remnants of the bourgeoisie and during the consolidation of power under conditions of heightening international tension after February 1948 were, in this situation, unjustifiably carried over into the next stage of development and gradually grew into a bureaucratic system. Sectarianism,

suppression of the democratic rights and freedom of the people, violation of laws, signs of licentiousness and misuse of power appeared in the internal life of the Republic, which led to undermining the initiative of the people and, what is more, gravely and unjustly afflicted many citizens - communists and non-communists. The irreparable losses suffered by our movement at that time will remain for ever a warning against similar methods.

The extraordinary exertion of the energy of our people brought great historic successes. Basic socialist social changes have been accomplished and the socialist order has sunk its roots deeply and firmly into our land. Our society, in which the means of production are mainly in the hands of the socialist state or of workers' cooperatives, has got rid of capitalist exploitation and the social wrongs connected with it. Every citizen of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has the right to work and enjoys basic social security. Our society has gone through a period of industrialization and now disposes of an extensive industrial base. We have achieved noteworthy successes in the advancement of science and culture; the possibilities of the broadest strata of the people gaining appropriate education have increased to an unheard of extent. The international status of the Republic among the socialist countries is firmly secured.

At the end of the fifties our society entered another stage of development. On this fact was gradually formed the political line which we want to apply in a creative way and to develop. Characteristic of the present stage are:

- 1. antagonistic classes no longer exist and the main feature of internal development is becoming the process of bringing all socialist groupings in the society closer together.
- 2. methods of direction and organization hitherto used in the national economy are outdated and urgently demand changes, i.e. an economic system of management able to enforce



a turn towards intensive growth;

① it will be necessary to prepare the country for joining in the scientific-technical revolution in the world, which calls for especially intensive cooperation of workers and agricultural workers with the technical and specialized intelligentsia, and which will place high demands upon the knowledge and qualifications of people, on the application of science,

② a broad scope for social initiative, frank exchange of views and democratization of the whole social and political system - becomes virtually the condition for the dynamics of socialist society - the condition for us being able to hold our own in competition with the world, and to honourably fulfil our obligations towards the international workers movement.

#### Surmounting the causes of profound social crisis

\* Already at the time when this Party line was being formed and starting to be applied, it ran up against lack of understanding for the new tasks, with recidivism of redundant methods of work which arose at the time of sharp class struggle in Czechoslovakia, with the opposition of those who in one way or another found the deformations of the socialist reality convenient.

We want to disclose frankly what these mistakes and deformations were and what were their causes so as to be able to remedy them as soon as possible and to concentrate all forces on the fundamental structural changes in our lives which we are facing at the present time.

Already after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR, which was an impulse for revival of the development of socialist democracy, the Party adopted several mea-

sures which were intended to overcome bureaucratic-centralist sectarian methods of management or its remnants, to prevent the means of class struggle being reversed against the working people. Many communists and whole working collectives tried to open the way to progressive development of the economy, the living standard, science and culture. The more definitely was the class antagonism overcome and the foundations for socialism laid, the more urgent was the stress placed upon promotion of cooperation of all working people, of all social strata, groups and nationalities in Czechoslovakia and on fundamental changes in methods employed during the time of sharp class struggle. At the same time, there was rightly seen in the development of socialist democracy the main social conditions for realization of the humanistic aims which are characteristic of socialism. However, they met with lack of understanding, inhibitions and, in some cases, even with direct suppression. The survival of methods from the time of the class struggle evoked an artificial tension among the social groups, nations and nationalities, different generations, communists and non-party people in this society. Dogmatic approaches impeded a full and timely re-evaluation of conceptions of the character of socialist construction.

The measures adopted did not therefore bring the anticipated results. On the contrary, over the years, difficulties piled up until they closed in a vicious circle. Subjective conceptions were not overridden in time, as if construction of the new society were dependent only upon accelerated extensive development of production. This led to a precipitated expansion of heavy industry, to a disproportionate demand on labour power, raw materials and to costly investments. Such an economic policy, enforced through directive administrative methods, no longer corresponded to the economic requirements and possibilities of the country and led to exhaustion of its material and human resources.

Unrealistic tasks were placed upon the economy, illusory promises were made to the workers. This orientation served to intensify the unfavourable structure of production which did not correspond with the national conditions in which local skilled labour could be not sufficiently applied, caused considerable technical retardation in Czechoslovak production, put a brake on development of public services, upset the equilibrium of the market, worsened the international status of the Czechoslovak economy, especially of the exchange of Czechoslovak products of labour abroad and finally, had to end in stagnation and, in certain cases, even in the reduction of the living standard of the people.

These shortcomings were directly caused by the maintenance and constant restoration primarily of the old directive system of management: Economic means, forms of supply and demand, and marketing ties were replaced by directives from the centre. Socialist enterprise did not expand. In economic life, independence, diligence, expertise and the initiative of the people were not appreciated, but, rather the contrary, subservience, obedience and even kowtowing to higher ups were.

A more profound reason for keeping up the outlived methods of economic management were the deformations in the political system. Socialist democracy was not expanded in time, methods of revolutionary dictatorship deteriorated into bureaucracy and became an impediment to progress in all spheres of life in Czechoslovakia. And so, political mistakes were added to economic difficulties and mechanism was created which resulted in helplessness, conflict between theory and practice. Much endeavour, activity and energy of workers of the Party, the State, the economy, science and culture was squandered away. When to this was added the adverse external circumstances of the early sixties, serious economic crisis followed. It is from there that the diffi-

culties with which the workers are still confronted daily, emanate: the slow increase in wages of many-years standing, stagnation of the living standard and especially the constantly increasing retardation of the infrastructure in comparison with advanced industrial countries, the catastrophic state of housing and insufficient building of houses and apartments, the precarious state of the transport system, poor quality goods and public services, lack of cultural standard in living environment and conditions in general which tangibly affect just the human factor, possibilities of developing human energy and the activity of man, all of which are decisive for a socialist society. Embitterness grew among the people and a feeling that despite all successes which had been achieved and despite all efforts exerted, the socialist society was making headway with great difficulty, with fateful delay and with moral political defects in human relations. Quite naturally, apprehensions arose about socialism, about its human mission, about its human features. Some people became demoralized others lost perspective.

The main link in this circle was that of remnants or reappearance of the bureaucratic, sectarian approach in the Party itself. The insufficient development of socialist democracy within the Party, the unfavourable atmosphere for the promotion of activity, the silencing or even suppression of criticism - all of this thwarted a fast, timely and thorough rectification. Party bodies took over tasks of State and economic bodies and social organizations. This led to an incorrect merging of the Party and State management, to a monopolized power-position of some sections, unqualified interference as well as the undermining of initiative at all levels, indifference, the cult of mediocrity and to unhealthy anonymity. A consequence of this was the spreading of irresponsibility and lack of discipline. Many correct resolutions were never fulfilled. This adversely affected theoretic thinking, making it impossible to recognize in time the short-

comings and the danger connected with the outdated system of management. Amendments in the economy and politics were held up.

All of these questions became a focus for clashing of those forces which were insisting upon fundamental changes with the bearers of the old conception. At the same time, this led to a clarification of the position, and essential social progress was pushed ahead. At the December sessions of the Central Committee, thorough and factual criticism was made of the main causes of the aforementioned shortcomings, and their bearers, and corrective measures were instigated in the leading bodies of the Party themselves.

Of the immediate causes was said to be that inside the Party there was too great a concentration of decision, that there arose an extraordinary status of individuals, in the first place of A. Novotný. This criticism allowed the whole Party and the society to start overcoming the old approach and sectarian bureaucratic practice on the basis of self-critical evaluation of the work to date, from top to bottom, so as to create real unity of the society on the same basis of social democracy, thoroughly to put into practice the principles of the new system of economic management, to modernize and rationalize life in Czechoslovakia, to open up long-term perspectives of gradually including Czechoslovakia in the process of the scientific-technological revolution - so that in all spheres of this society the power of socialism will be revived and will start out along a new road of socialist development.

#### A policy of unity and confidence

Decisive for the socialist development of this country was the creation of the broad reliance of progressive forces of the town and country headed by the working class

and the unity of the Czech and Slovak nations.

The resolution of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia set the task: "In the internal life of the country to continue strengthening the union of the working class which is the leading force in the society, with the agricultural cooperative workers and the socialist intelligentsia as the political base of the State, to help the mutual rapprochement of classes and strata of the nations and nationalities in Czechoslovakia and to consolidate their unity." The sense of the present policy is to stimulate continuously democratic relations of cooperation and confidence among the various social groups without differentiation, to harmonize their efforts, to unite their forces on the basis of the development of the whole society.

All social classes, strata, groups, both nations and all nationalities of the society agree with the fundamental interests and aims of socialism. One of the big advantages of socialist development to date is, that a decisive factor in assessing the standing and activity of the people in this society is their working merits and progressive social activity and not their membership of this class or that stratum. The Party resolutely condemns attempts to put the various classes, strata and groups of the socialist society in opposition to each other and will eliminate everything that creates tension among them.

On behalf of unity and the interests of the whole society, there can be no overlooking the various needs and interests of individual people and social groups according to their work, qualification, age, sex, nationality and so on. In the past we have often made such mistakes.

Socialism can only flourish if scope is given for the assertion of the various interests of the people and on this basis the unity of all workers will be brought about democratically. This is the main source of free social acti-

vity and development of the socialist system.

The Party is backed, and will continue to be backed, by the working class which has shown that it is able to carry the main weight of socialist endeavour. Under prevailing conditions, we rely especially upon those, who, with their awareness i.e. profound understanding of the real interests and tasks of the working class in the revolutionary reconstruction of the whole society, with their qualifications, and their cohesion with modern technology, the high effectivity of their work, their social activity, contribute markedly to the further progress of Czechoslovak production of the whole society as such. The working class began the revolutionary struggle so as to abolish every sort of exploitation, to erase all class barriers, to facilitate the liberation of people and with them to transform the conditions of human life, the character of human labour, to make way for the full self-realization of man, and by all this to change even itself. These long-term interests of the working class have not yet been fully realized. The workers, however, now have in their hands new technical, social and cultural means, which allow them to continue changing their working and living conditions, to expand the elements of purposeful creative endeavour in their activity. We are determined to open up wide the road to the assertion of all creative and by far not fully utilized energy which the working class has for these tasks.

In the past, the workers did not always have the possibility of asserting their immediate and specific interests. Therefore the Party will strive to activate the social life of the workers, to provide scope for making use of all their political and social rights through political organizations, and trade unions and to strengthen the democratic influence of collective teams of workers in the management of production. It will strive for the alleviation

of exhausting labour, for the humanization of work and for improving the labour conditions of workers.

One of the most significant results of the transformation of the social structure was the creation of social groups, organically cohering with the workers - agricultural cooperative workers. This fact must be appreciated politically. The Party will strive for the absolute economic equalization of agriculture with industry and for appraising the social importance of agricultural work. In accordance with the conclusions of the 7th Congress of Agricultural Cooperatives we shall support the setting up of all-state agricultural cooperative organizations and raise their political authority; we want to abolish all administrative, bureaucratic obstructions which impede the independent initiative of agricultural enterprises, everything that endangers the security of cooperative venture and that emanates from lack of confidence in the ability of the agricultural cooperative workers to act independently and in a socialist way.

Likewise it will be necessary to understand that the character of our intelligentsia has gradually changed, it has become an intelligentsia of the people, a socialist intelligentsia. It represents a force, which takes part, in a creative way, in the development of the society and makes the wealth of science and culture available to all people. Today, the workers will find in the intelligentsia their integral component part and their own inner force. The constantly closer collaboration of the technical intelligentsia with the workers in productive collectives simultaneously records the process of surmounting former class barriers. The Party will support the growing unity between the intelligentsia and the other working people, it will combat underestimation of the role of the intelligentsia in this society, which was the case of late, it will combat everything that upsets relations between the intelligentsia and the workers.

It will strive for just remuneration of complex and creative mental labour.

Just as with the working class, so with the agricultural workers and the intelligentsia, the Party will rely mainly upon those who best understand and most actively assert social interests and who, by effective work, most markedly contribute to social progress. Cooperation of all groups of the socialist society will be effective and possible only providing everyone becomes aware of his responsibility to the other, and does not give preference to narrow professional interests.

The fundament of Czechoslovak statehood is the voluntary and equal co-existence of Czechs and Slovaks. By the forming of socialist relations, pre-conditions will be given for the strengthening of the fraternal co-existence of our nations. Our Republic can only be strong providing, there will be no sparks of tension, or signs of nervousity and suspicion in the relations of the Czech and the Slovak nations and all nationalities. We must therefore resolutely condemn all expressions which would undermine the principles of the equality and sovereignty of both socialist nations and which occurred in the past. The unity of the Czechs and Slovaks can be strengthened only on the basis of an unhampered development of their national individuality in harmony with progress made in economy, with objective changes in the social structure of both nations and on the basis of absolute equality and voluntariness. Our Republic will be that much stronger, the more developed will be the two nations, the greater will be the use made of the enormous economic and cultural resources in Slovakia, in the interest of the progress of the whole Republic. Indifference to national interests or even endeavours to suppress them, is considered by the Party to be a gross distortion of its programme, of its political course. The Party will consistently defend the Leninist prin-

ciple that the overlooking of the interests of a smaller nation by the larger is incompatible with socialist relations between nations. It will oppose any kind of endeavour to place the continuous searching for the best methods of development in the constitutional relations of our nations, established on equal rights and voluntariness, in the light of weakening of the Republic. Communists of both nations and all nationalities in this country defend the principles of internationalism; the communists of every nation and nationality are themselves surmounting nationalistic relics in their own surroundings.

Under socialist conditions, each of the national minorities - Hungarian, Polish, Ukrainian, German and so on - have the right to their own national life and consistent fulfilling of all other constitutional rights.

The Party stresses it will oppose all expressions of antisemitism, racism and any anti-humanistic ideology, which would set the people against each other.

Various generations of our society have grown up under different conditions and naturally vary in their outlook on many questions of our life. The Party strongly rejects endeavours to put into contradiction the interests of these generations, it will devote special care to harmonizing and satisfying the needs of the different age groups.

It is true that our system, on the basis of the dedicated work of the older generation, as compared with the pre-Munich Republic has provided better conditions for the young people. Nevertheless, we have still remained greatly indebted to the youth. Shortcomings and mistakes in political, economic and cultural life, just as in human relations, affect the young person especially strongly, contradictions between words and deeds, lack of frankness, phrasemongering bureaucracy, attempts to settle everything from a position of power - these deformations of socialist life must pain-

fully affect students, young workers and agricultural workers, arousing in them the feeling that it is not they, their work, their efforts which are decisive for their own future life. An urgent task is that of restoring contact with young people everywhere and of making them responsible which pertains to them for their independent work under socialism.

This especially applies to improving working conditions, and possibilities of young people being active in social and cultural life and of consistently erasing everything that evokes non-confidence towards socialism in young people. We are all glad about the enthusiasm of the youth, their positive and critical initiative, which is a condition for them finding their cause and future in socialism and communism.

Neither should we overlook the material conditions, the social necessity, respect for and social assertion of the old people, which makes possible for them a dignified and well-merited retirement. This society should give great attention to ensuring the active participation of members of the resistance movement to whom the respect of everyone is due.

The deformations of the Party and State policy also include the fact that in the past the problem of women, especially those in employment was not considered a serious political matter. In State, economic and cultural policy, women should have access to such positions which comply with principles of socialist democracy and the significant role taken by women in creating material and spiritual values of the society.

In the further development of our society we must reckon with the activity of all strata of the population in public life and constructive endeavour. We can say quite openly that we are calculating with believers too, who, on the basis of their faith wish, as equals, as builders of a

socialist society, to take their part in helping to fulfill all our exacting tasks.

### To develop democracy and eliminate equalitarianism

The assertion of the manifold interests of the social groups and individuals, and their unification, calls for the elaboration and implementation of a new political system in our lives, a new model of socialist democracy. The Party will strive for such a development of the State and social order as will correspond to the actual lay-out of interests of the various strata and groups of this society, as will give them the possibility of expressing their interests in their organizations and of voicing their views in public life. We expect that in an atmosphere of mutual confidence between people and their institutions civic responsibility will grow at the same time and that norms of human relations will be respected.

Meanwhile, the Party will strive to link the democratic principles of the social system with expert and scientific management and decision. In order to be able to judge responsibly what is in the interest of the whole society, we must always have before us other alternatives for appraisal, expertly justified proposals for solving all disputable matters, and we must ensure that the people get much more information, more candidly.

Today, when class differences are being erased, the main criterion for evaluating the status of people in society is how the person contributes towards social progress. The Party has often criticized equalitarian views, but in practice levelling has spread to an unheard of extent and this became one of the impediments to an intensive development of the economy and to raising the living standard. The harmful-

ness of equalitarianism lies in the living standard. The harmfulness of equalitarianism lies in the fact that it puts careless workers, idlers and irresponsible people to advantage as compared with the dedicated and diligent workers, the unqualified compared with the qualified, the technical and expertly backward people as compared with the talented and those with initiative.

When attempting today to do away with equalitarianism, to apply the principle of actual achievements in the appraisal of employees we have no intention of forming a new privileged stratum. We want in all spheres of social life, the remuneration of people to depend upon the social importance and effectivity of their work, upon the development of workers initiative, upon the degree of responsibility and risk. This is in the interest of the development of the whole society. The principle of actual achievements raises the technical standard, profitability and productivity of labour, respect and authority of the managers responsible, the principle of material incentive, it stresses the growing importance of qualification of all workers.

One of the key conditions of the present and future scientific, technical and social development is to substantially increase the qualifications of managers and experts at all levels of economic and social life. If the leading posts are not be filled by capable, educated socialist expert cadres, socialism will be unable to hold its own in competition with capitalism.

This fact will require great changes in the existing cadre policy in which for years the aspects of education, qualification and ability have been underrated.

Application of the principle of remuneration according to the quantity, quality and social usefulness of work calls for a de-leveilling of incomes. It does not however mean neglecting the interests of citizens in the lowest in-

come group, the interests of families with many children, citizens with reduced working ability, pensioners. . . . .tain categories of women and youth. On the contrary, consistent application of the principle of differentiated remuneration according to actual work achievement, is the only effective means for such a development of resources which would enable a raising of the standard of living and, according to the spirit of socialist humanism, determine and ensure good living conditions for all strata of the society. We want to make it quite clear that honest work for the society and efforts to improve qualification are not only duly remunerated but they must also enjoy due respect. The socialist society respects those who achieve exceptional results, who are active and show initiative in advancing production, technical, cultural and social progress; it respects the talented people and creates favourable conditions for their ascent.

#### The leading role of the Party - a guarantee of socialist progress

At present it is most important that the Party practices a policy fully justifying its leading role in society. We believe that at present this is a condition for the socialist development of the country.

The Communist Party, as a party of the working class, won the struggle with capitalism and the struggle to carry out revolutionary class changes; with the victory of socialism it becomes the vanguard of the entire socialist society. Especially during the present time has the Party proved its ability to lead this society, when from its own initiative it launched the process of democratization and ensured its socialist character. In its political activity the Party intends to depend particularly on those who have understanding for the requirements of the society as a whole, who do not

see their own personal and group interests against those of socialism, those who use and improve their abilities for the benefit of all, who have a sense for everything new and progressive and are willing to help advance it.

The Communist Party enjoys the voluntary support of the people; it does not practice its leading role by ruling the society but by most devotedly serving its free, progressive socialist development. The Party cannot enforce its authority but this must be won again and again by Party activity. It cannot force its line through directives but by the work of its members, by the veracity of its ideals.

In the past, the leading role of the Party was often received as a monopolistic concentration of power in the hands of Party bodies. This corresponded to the false thesis that the Party is the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This harmful conception weakened the initiative and responsibility of the State, economic and social institutions and damaged the Party's authority, and prevented it from carrying out its real functions. The Party's goal is not to become a universal "caretaker" of the society, to bind all organizations and every step taken in life by its directives. Its mission lies primarily in arousing socialist initiative, in showing the ways and actual possibilities of communist perspectives, and in winning over all workers for them through systematic persuasion, as well as by the personal examples of communists. This is determined by the conceptual character of Party activity; Party bodies do not deal with all problems but should encourage activity and suggest solution to the most important ones. At the same time the Party cannot turn into an organization which would influence the society only by its ideas and programme. Through its members and bodies it must develop the practical organization functions of a political force in society. The political and organizational Party activity coordinates the practical ef-

forts of the people to turn the Party line and programme into reality in all respects - in the social, economic and cultural life of the society.

As a representative of the interests of the most progressive part of all the State - and thus also representative of the perspective aims of the society - the Party cannot represent the entire scale of social interests. The political expression of the many-sided interests of the society is the whole National Front, as an expression of the unity of the social strata, groups of interests and of the nations and nationalities of this society. The Party does not want to, and will not take the place of social organizations, but, on the contrary, it must take care that their initiative and political responsibility for the unity of the society is revived and flourishes. The role of the Party is to seek such a way of satisfying the various interests which would not jeopardize the perspective interests of the society as a whole, but which would promote them and create new progressive interests. The Party policy must not lead to non-communists getting the impression that their rights and freedom are limited by the role of the Party. On the contrary, they must see in the activity of the Party a guarantee of their rights, freedom and interests. We want, and shall achieve, a state of affairs when the Party right at basic organizational level, will have informal, natural authority based upon its working and managing ability and the moral qualities of communist functionaries.

Within the framework of democratic rules of a socialist state, communists must over and again strive for the voluntary support of the majority of the people for the Party line. It is necessary to alter Party resolutions and directives if they fail to express correctly the needs and possibilities of the whole society. The Party must endeavour for its members - as the most active workers in their spheres of



work - to have corresponding weight and influence in the whole society, to hold functions in State, economic and social bodies. This, however, must not lead to the practice of appointing party members to functions, without regard to the principle that leading representatives of institutions of the whole society are chosen by the society itself and by its various components and that functionaries of these components are responsible to all citizens or to all members of social organizations. It is necessary to abolish the discriminating practice and the creation of a "Cadre ceiling" for people not members of the party.

The basis for the Party's action ability is its ideological and organizational unity based upon broad intra-Party democracy. The most effective weapon against introducing methods of bureaucratic centralism in the Party is the strengthening of the influence of Party members, of forming the political line, reinforcing the role of really democratically elected bodies. Elected bodies of the Party must first of all guarantee the application of all rights of its members, the making of decisions collectively, and, that all power will not be concentrated in a single pair of hands.

Only down-to-earth discussion and exchange of views can be the pre-condition for responsible deciding of collective bodies. Confrontation of views is an essential expression of a multilateral responsible attempt to find the best solution, to advance the new against the obsolete. Each member of the Party and Party bodies has not only the right, but the duty to act according to his conscience, with initiative, criticism, with different views on the matter in question, to oppose any functionary. This practice must become deeply rooted if the Party is to avoid subjectivism in its activity. It is impermissible to restrict communists in these rights, to create an atmosphere of distrust and suspicion of those around who voice different opinions, to persecute the minority under any pretext - as has happened in the past. The

Party, however, cannot abandon the principle of requiring the fulfilling of resolutions once they are approved. Within the Party, all its members are equal regardless of whether they hold any function in Party bodies or in bodies of State and economic organizations. Nevertheless, he who occupies a higher position, also carries greater responsibility. The Party is aware of the fact that there will be no more profound democracy in this society if democratic principles will not be consistently applied in the internal life and work in the Party itself, among communists. Decisions on all important questions and on the filling of posts by cadres must be ensured by democratic rules of negotiation and by secret ballot. The democratization of Party life also means the strengthening of work contacts between the Party and science. In this line we shall make use of consultations, exchange of opposing and contrary views since the role of science does not end by preparing analyses and documents. It should continue on Party grounds, by observing the processes evolved by the various resolutions and by contributing to their materialization and to the control of the correctness of the resolutions in practice.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia set out on this road at its December and January sessions and it will make sure that in the months to come the questions of content and democratic methods of Party life, of relations between elected bodies and the Party apparatus are clarified throughout the Party and that rules will be elaborated defining the authority and responsibility of the individual bodies and links of the Party mechanism, as well as the principles of the Party's cadre policy which, among other things, will ensure an effective, regular change of leading officials, guarantees of the standard of information of members and relations of Party bodies to Party members in general. In preparing the 14th Party Congress the Party will make sure that the Party statutes correspond with the present state of its development.

## FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, FOR A NEW SYSTEM OF THE POLITICAL MANAGEMENT OF SOCIETY

In the past decade, the Party has many times put forward the demand for a development of socialist democracy. Measures taken by the Party were aimed at enhancing the role of elected representative bodies in the state. They emphasized the importance of voluntary social organizations and of all forms of popular activities. The Party policy initiated a number of laws which increased the protection of rights of every citizen. It was clearly stated in the theses of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia prepared for the 13th Party Congress that "the state of working class dictatorship had fulfilled its main historical mission in our country" and the guide line for further development of our democracy was given no less clearly - "the system of socialist democracy - the state, social organizations, and the Party as the leading force - purposefully endeavours to bring out the differing interests and attitudes of working people to social problems in a democratic way and to settle them inside the socialist society organizations correctly and with regard to nationwide needs and goals. The development of democracy must proceed hand in hand with strengthening of a scientific and professional approach to social management."

Nevertheless, harmful characteristics of centralized directive decision-making and management have survived up to the present day. In relations among the Party, the state, and social organizations, in internal relations and methods within these individual partners, in the relations of state

and other institutions to individuals, in the interpretation of the importance of public opinion and of people being informed, in the practical effect of personnel policy - in all these fields there are too many things souring the life of the people, while obstructing a professionally competent and scientific decision-making, and encouraging highhandedness. The reason may be sought, first and foremost, in that these relations in our political system have been built up for years as the instrument for carrying out the orders of the centre, and hardly ever made it at all possible for the decision itself to be the outcome of a democratic procedure.

The different interests and needs of people not foreseen by the system of directive decision-making were taken as an undesirable obstacle and not as new needs of the life of people which have to be respected by politics. That was why the often well-meant words of "an increase in the people's participation in management" could not help as in time this "participation of the people" came to mean chiefly help in carrying out orders and not in settling the correctness of the decisions. Thus it was possible that views, measures and interventions were enforced that were highhanded and did not comply either with scientific cognition, or with the interests of the various strata of the people and of individuals. Centralized decision-making put into effect in this way could not then be effective either and, on the contrary, led to a number of resolutions not being fulfilled and weakening of the purposeful management of social development. This, in turn, has in many cases kept such people in functions that are not capable of any other way of "management", who consistently revive the old methods and habits, who surround themselves with people who humour them and not with people whose capacities and character would be a guarantee of the successful carrying out of the functions. In spite of consistently condemning the "personality cult" we are still not able, therefore, to eradicate some character-

istics of our society typical for that period. This undermines the people's confidence in the Party being, in fact, able to change this situation, and old tensions and political nervous strain are again raised and revived.

The Central Committee is firmly determined to overcome such a state of affairs. As said above, it is necessary to prepare, for the 14th Congress, the fundamental issues of the development of the political system into a concept meeting the demands of life, just as we have elaborated the fundamental concept of the new economic system.

The main thing is to reform the whole political system that it will permit the dynamic development of socialist social relations, combine broad democracy with a scientific, highly qualified management, strengthen the social order, stabilize socialist relations and maintain social discipline. The basic structure of the political system must, at the same time, provide firm guarantees against a return to the old methods of subjectivism and highhandedness from a position of power. Party activity has, so far, not been turned systematically to that end, in fact, obstacles have frequently been put in the way of such efforts. All these changes necessarily call for commencement of work on a new Czechoslovak constitution so that the draft of the new constitution may be thoroughly discussed among professionals and in public in all important points and submitted to the National Assembly shortly after the Party Congress.

But we consider it indispensable to change the present state of things right now, even before the 14th Congress, so that the development of socialism and its inner dynamics are not hampered by the outdated factors in the political system. Our democracy must provide more room for the activity of every individual, every collective, every link in the management, both at lower and higher levels, and in the centre, too. People must have more opportunity to think for

themselves and express their opinions. We must radically change the practices that turn the people's initiative and critical comments and suggestions from below into words that meet with the proverbial deaf ear. We must see to it that the incompetent but adaptive /to anything/ people are really replaced by those who strive for socialism, who are concerned with its fate and progress, with the interests and needs of others, and not with their own power or advantages. This will affect people both "above" and "below". It is going to be a complicated process taking some time. It is necessary to make clear everywhere - at all levels of management, in the Party, in state and economic bodies and in social organizations - which body or which official or which worker is really responsible, for what, where to look for guarantees of improvement, where to change institutions, where the working methods, and where to replace individuals. The attitude of individual Party officials to new tasks and methods, their capability of carrying the new policy into practice, must be the basic political criterion.

#### No responsibility without right

Who, which body and which official is responsible for what, what are his rights and duties, must be perfectly clear in all our system of management for the future, and we consider this to be the basic prerequisite for correct development. To this end, each component part should have its own independent position. Substitution and interchanging of state bodies, agencies of economic and social organizations by Party bodies must be completely stopped. Party resolutions are binding for the communists working in these bodies, but the policy, directing activities, and responsibility of the state, economic, and social organizations are independent. The communists active in these bodies and organizations must take

the initiative and see that the state and economic bodies as well as social organizations /notably the Trade Unions, the Czechoslovak Union of Youth, etc./ take the problem of their activities and responsibilities into their own hands.

The whole National Front, the political parties which form it, and the social organizations, will take part in the creation of state policy. The political parties of the National Front are partners whose political work is based on the joint political programme of the National Front and is naturally bound by the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, is fully based on the socialist character of social relations in our country. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia considers the National Front to be a political platform which does not separate the political parties into the government and the opposition in the sense that opposition would be created to the state policy as the policy of the whole National Front and a struggle for political power in the state were to exist. Possible differences in the viewpoints of individual component parts of the National Front, or divergency of views as to the policy of the state, are all to be settled on the basis of the common socialist conception of the National Front policy by way of political agreement and unification of all component parts of the National Front. Formation of political forces striving to negate this concept of the National Front, to remove the National Front as a whole from political power, was ruled out as long ago as 1945 after the tragic experience of both our nations with the prewar political development of the then Czechoslovak Republic; it is naturally unacceptable for our present republic.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia considers the political management of the Marxist-Leninist concept of the development of socialism as a precondition for the right development of our socialist society. It will assert the Mar-

xist-Leninist concept as the leading political principle in the National Front and in all our political system by seeking, through the means of political work, such support in all the component parts of our system and directly among the masses of workers and all working people that will ensure its leading role in a democratic way.

Voluntary social organizations of the working people cannot replace political parties, but the contrary is also true: political parties in our country cannot exclude common-interest organizations of workers and other working people from directly influencing state policy, its creation and application. Socialist state power cannot be monopolized either by a single party, or by a coalition of parties. It must be open to all political organizations of the people. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will use every means to develop such forms of political life that will ensure the expression of the direct say and will of the working class and all working people in political decision-taking in our country.

The whole existing organization, forms of activities, and incorporation of the various organizations in the National Front must be revised in principle under the new conditions and built up so that the National Front may carry out the qualitatively new tasks. The National Front as a whole and all its component parts must be allowed independent rights and their own responsibility for the management of our country and society.

Voluntary social organizations must be based on really voluntary membership and activity. People join these organizations because they express their interests, therefore they have the right to choose their own officials and representatives who cannot be appointed from outside. These principles should be the foundation of our unified mass organizations the activities of which are still indispensable but which should meet, by their structure, their working methods,

and their ties with their members, the new social conditions.

The implementation of constitutional freedoms of assembly and association must be ensured this year so that the possibility of setting up voluntary organizations, special-interest associations, societies, etc. is guaranteed by law to meet the actual interests and needs of various strata and categories of our citizens, without bureaucratic interference and without monopoly of any individual organization. Any restrictions in this respect can be imposed only by law and only the law can stipulate what is anti-social, forbidden, or punishable. Freedoms guaranteed by law are applicable in this sense, in compliance with the constitution, also to citizens of individual creeds and religious denominations.

The effective influence of views and opinions of the working people on all our policy, opposition to all tendencies to suppress the criticism and initiative of the people, cannot be guaranteed if we do not ensure constitution-based freedom of speech and all political and personal rights of all citizens, systematically and consistently, by all legal means available. Socialism cannot mean only liberation of the working people from the domination of exploiting class relations, but must make more provisions for a fuller life of the personality than any bourgeois democracy. The working people, who are no longer ordered about by any class of exploiters, can no longer be prescribed by any arbitrary interpretation from a position of power, what information they or may not be given, which of their opinions can or cannot be expressed publicly, where public opinion may play a role and where not. Public opinion polls must be systematically used in preparing important decisions and the main results of the research are to be published. Any restriction may be imposed only on the basis of a law stipulating what is anti-social - which in our country is mainly the criminal law. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia considers it necessary to define more exactly than

hitherto in the shortest possible time by a press law, when a state body can forbid the propagation of certain information /in the press, radio, television, etc./ and exclude the possibility of preliminary factual censorship. It is necessary to overcome the holding up, distortion, and incompleteness of information, to remove any unwarranted secrecy of political and economic facts, to publish the annual balance sheets of enterprises, to publish even alternatives to various suggestions and measures, to extend the import and sale of foreign press. Leading representatives of state, social and cultural organizations are obliged to organize regular press conference and give their views on topical issues on television, radio, and in the press. In the press, it is necessary to make a distinction between official standpoints of state, Party and journalist bodies; the Party press especially must express the Party's own life, development and criticisms of various opinions among the communists, etc., and cannot be made fully identical with the official viewpoints of the state.

The Party realizes that ideological antagonists of socialism may try to abuse the process of democratization. At the present stage of development and under the conditions of our country, we insist on the principle that bourgeois ideology can be challenged only in open ideological struggle before all of the people. It is possible to win over people for the ideas and policy of the Party only by struggle based on the practical activity of communists for the benefit of the people, on truthful and complete information, and on scientific analysis. We trust that in such a struggle, all sections of our society will contribute actively towards the victory of truth, which is on the side of socialism.

At present the activity and responsibility of publishing houses, chief editors, of all Party members and progressive staff of mass communication media, must grow to

push through socialist ideals and to put into effect the policy of the Party, of the National Front, and of the State.

Legal norms must guarantee more exactly the freedom of speech of minority interests and opinions also /again within the framework of socialist laws and in harmony with the principle that decisions are taken in accordance with the will of the majority/. The constitutional freedom of movement particularly the travelling of our citizens abroad, must be precisely guaranteed by law; in particular, this means that a citizen should have the legal right to long-term or permanent sojourn abroad and that people should not be groundlessly placed in the position of emigrants; at the same time is necessary to protect by law the interests of the state, for example, as regards the drain of some categories of specialists, etc.

We must gradually solve in the whole legal code the task of how to protect in a better and more consistent way the personal rights and property of citizens, we must especially remove those stipulations that virtually put individual citizens at a disadvantage against the state and other institutions. We must in future prevent various institutions from disregarding personal rights and the interests of individual citizens as far as personal ownership of family houses, gardens, etc. is concerned. It will be necessary to adopt, in the shortest possible time, the long-prepared law on compensation for any damage caused to any individual or to an organization by an unlawful decision of a state organ.

It is a serious fact that hitherto the rehabilitation of people - both communists and non-communists - who were the victims of legal violations in the past years, has not been always carried out in all its political and civic consequences. On the initiative of the Communist Party Central Committee bodies, an investigation is under way as to why the respective Party resolutions have not been fully carried out,

and measures are being taken to ensure that the wrongs of the past are made good wherever it has not been done yet. No one having the slightest personal reason from his own past activity for slowing down the rectification may be either in the political bodies, or prosecutor's and court offices that are to rectify the past unlawful deeds.

The Party realizes that people unlawfully condemned and persecuted cannot regain the lost years of their life; it will, however, do its best to remove any shadow of the mistrust and humiliation to which the families and relatives of those affected were often subjected, and will resolutely ensure that such persecuted people have every opportunity of showing their worth in work, in public life, and in political activities. It goes without saying that even in carrying out full rehabilitation of people, we cannot change the consequences of revolutionary measures made in the past years in accordance with the spirit of class law aimed against the bourgeoisie, its property, economic, and social supports. The whole problem of a rectification of past repressions must be approached with the full responsibility of the state bodies concerned, and based on legal regulations; the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia supports the proposal that the procedure in these questions and the problems of legal consequences be incorporated in a special law.

A wide democratic concept of the political and personal rights of citizens, their legal and political safeguards, are considered by the Party to be a prerequisite for the necessary strengthening of social discipline and order, for a stabilization of socialist social relations. A selfish comprehension of civil rights, an attitude to social property according to the principle "it's not my concern", a preferring of particular interests over those of the whole society - all these are features which communists will oppose with all their might.

The real purpose of democracy must be the achievement of better results of practical work based on wider possibilities of purposeful activity, in order to carry out the interests and needs of the people. Democracy cannot be identified with general speechmaking, cannot be understood in opposition to discipline, professionalism, and effectiveness of management. But arbitrariness and obscure stipulation of rights and duties makes such a development impossible. It leads to irresponsibility, to a feeling of uncertainty, and hence also to indifference towards public interests and needs. On the other hand, it is a more profound democracy and its measure of civic freedom that will help socialism to prove its superiority over the limited bourgeois democracy and will make it an attractive example for progressive movements even in industrially advanced countries with democratic traditions.

#### Equality of the Czechs and Slovaks - the basis for the strength of the public

Our republic, as a joint state of two equal nations - Czechs and Slovaks - must consistently ensure that the constitutional arrangement of relations between our fraternal nations and the status of all other nationalities of Czechoslovakia develops as required to strengthen the unity of the state, the development of the nations and nationalities themselves, and in keeping with the needs of socialism. It cannot be denied that even in socialist Czechoslovakia, in spite of outstanding progress in solving the problem of nationalities, there are serious faults and fundamental deformations in the constitutional arrangement of relations between the Czechs and Slovaks.

Let it be stressed that the asymmetrical arrangement alone was not suitable, by its very character, to express and ensure the relations between two independent nations, as

the respective standings of the two nations were necessarily expressed in different ways. The difference was mainly in the fact that the Czech national bodies were identical with the central ones which, having jurisdiction over all the state, were superior to the Slovak national bodies; this prevented the Slovak nation, to all means and purposes, in taking an equal share in the creation and realization of a country-wide policy. The objective shortcomings of such a solution were underlined by the existing political atmosphere and practice, adversely affecting the standing and activity of Slovak national bodies.

Under such conditions, the activities of Slovak national bodies were weakened, both in the fifties and in the fundamental ideas of the 1960 Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Thus the Slovak national bodies got into a position from which their influence on the state machinery could be only of peripheral importance. These shortcomings, especially in view of the unsound elements of the political atmosphere of recent past could not be overcome even by the joint document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia of 1964 on a strengthening of the role of the Slovak National Council.

This development necessarily caused misunderstanding to arise between our two nations. In the Czech lands the non-existence of their own national bodies gave an impression of superfluity of Slovak national bodies. In Slovakia the people were convinced that it is not the Slovaks who govern their own house but that everything is decided in Prague.

In the interest of the development of our socialist society, it is therefore absolutely necessary to strengthen the unity of the Czechoslovak people and their confidence in the policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, to effect a crucial turn in the constitutional arrangement of

the relations between the Czechs and Slovaks and to carry out the necessary constitutional changes. It is now essential to respect the advantage of the socialist federal arrangement as a recognized and tried state form of the co-existence of two equal nations in a common socialist state.

For reasons of organization, the final federative arrangement must be preceded by the removal of the most pressing shortcomings in the existing unsatisfactory state of things in the legal relations between the Czech and Slovak nations as its integral part and development stage. It is therefore necessary to draw up and pass a constitutional law which will embody the principle of a symmetrical arrangement as the goal to which our development after the 14th Congress will aim in the new constitution and which in a new way, on the basis of full equality, will solve the status of Slovak national bodies in our constitutional system in the nearest future - before the elections to the National Assembly and the Slovak National Council. It will have to

① constitute the Slovak National Council as a legislative body and the Slovak Council of Ministers as a collective executive body, and ministries as individual executive organs of the Slovak National Council, extending the real powers of all these organs so that the division of legislative and executive powers between the state and the Slovak bodies may basically comply with the principles of the Kossice government programme;

② entrust the directing of national committees in Slovakia to Slovak national bodies and, in connection with an efficient arrangement between the state centre and the Slovak national bodies, set up a Slovak ministerial office for internal affairs and public security covering the full extent of responsibilities;

③ adjust the competence of Slovak national bodies so that they may draw up and approve the economic plan and budget

for Slovakia in all its items including the relevant economic tools. Set up a suitable structure of ministerial economic and executive bodies of the Slovak National Council and adapt the organizational pattern of the material and manufacturing basis in Slovakia accordingly;

④ renew state secretaryship in central ministries, especially in the ministries of foreign affairs, foreign trade and national defence, the secretaries being members of the government;

⑤ exclude, politically and constitutionally, the possibility of outvoting the Slovak nation as far as the state relations between the Czechs and Slovaks and the constitutional status of Slovakia are concerned;

⑥ in addition, outside the scope of the constitutional law, to effect in real political practice the principle of equal rights of both nations in appointments to central bodies, diplomatic service, etc.

In preparing the 14th Congress of the Party and the new constitution it is necessary to submit, on the basis of all-round professional and political preparation, a proposal for a constitutional arrangement of relations between our two nations that will fully express and guarantee their equality and right of self-determination. The same principles shall be applied to the pattern of the Party and social organizations.

In the interests of strengthening the unity, coherence and national individuality of all nationalities in Czechoslovakia - of Hungarians, Poles, Ukrainians, and Germans - it is indispensable to work out a statute stipulating the status and rights of the various nationalities, guaranteeing the possibilities of their national life and the development of their national individuality. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia realizes that, in spite



of indisputable achievements in solving the problems of nationalities, serious shortcomings exist. We deem it necessary to stress that the principles of our programme in respect of our two nations extend also to other nationalities. To that end, it is necessary to stipulate constitutional and legal guarantees of a complete and real political, economic, and cultural equality. The interests of the nationalities will have to be safeguarded also from the point of view of the pattern of state, regional, district, municipal, and local state power and administration. It is necessary to see that the nationalities are represented, in proportion to their numbers, in our political, economic, cultural, and public life, in elected and executive bodies. It is necessary to ensure an active participation of the nationalities in public life in the spirit of equality of rights and according to the principle that the nationalities have the right to independence and self-administration in provinces that concern them.

The power of elected bodies emanates  
from the will of the voters

The coming elections are to be the onset of implementation of the principles of this Action Programme in the work of the elected bodies of the state.

Although efforts were made in the past few months to improve the preparation of elections, it proved that it is not possible to effect the elections in the originally proposed term while meeting the requirements of the principles of advanced socialist democracy. It is therefore necessary to work out such an electoral system that will be in harmony with the changes in our political life. By means of the electoral law it is necessary to lay down exactly and clearly the democratic principles for the preparation of the elections, the proposal of candidates and the method of their

election. The changes in the electoral system must be based, in particular, on the new political status of the National Front and the elected bodies themselves.

It is the national committees that make the backbone of the whole network of representative bodies in our country as democratic organs of state power. It must be in the national committees that state policy is formed, especially in districts and regions. In their work the principle of socialist democracy is to be fully applied: to bring out various interests and requirements of the people and to mould them into the general, public interest of communities, townships, districts, and regions.

The Party regards the national committees as bodies that have to carry on the progressive traditions of local government and people's self-administration. They must not be taken for local bureaucratic offices supervising local enterprises. The essential political mission of national committees is to protect the rights and needs of the people, to simplify the process of settling all matters with which the people turn to the national committee, to pursue public interest and oppose efforts of some institutions to dupe the people and ignore their requirements.

The Party regards the National Assembly as a socialist parliament with all the scope of activities the parliament of a democratic republic must have. The communist-deputies must see to it that the National Assembly works out a number of concrete measures before the new electoral period that will put into actual practice the constitutional status of the National Assembly as the supreme organ of state power in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. It is necessary to overcome formalism in dealings, the unconvincing unanimity concealing factual differences in opinions and attitudes of the deputies. From this point of view it is necessary to solve, in the nearest future, the relations

between the National Assembly and Party bodies, and also a number of problems of internal activities of the National Assembly, particularly those concerning organization and competence. The result must be a National Assembly which actually decides on laws and important political issues, and not only approves proposals submitted. The Party supports a strengthening of the controlling function of the National Assembly in our entire public life and, more concretely, in respect of the government; from that point of view, it is necessary to subject the controlling machinery fully to the National Assembly, to establish it as its own body. Together with closer bonds between the National Assembly and our public opinion, all of this may, in a short time, increase the role and the prestige of the National Assembly in our society.

#### Division and supervision of power - guarantees against highhandedness

The communists in the government, too, must ensure as soon as possible that the principle of responsibility of the government towards the National Assembly covering all its activities is worked out in detail. Even under the existing practice of political management, the opportunity afforded for independent activity of the government and of individual ministers was not sufficiently made use of, there was a tendency to shift responsibility on to the Party bodies and to evade independence in decision-taking. The government is not only an organ of economic policy. As the supreme executive organ of the state it must, as a whole, deal systematically with the whole scope of political and administrative problems of the state. It is also up to the government to take care of the rational development of the whole state machinery. The state administration machinery was often underrated in the past; this machinery must consist of highly qualified people, professionally competent and rationally organized, it must be subject to a systematic supervision in a democratic way

it must be effective. Simplified ideas as if such goals could be attained by underrating and decrying the administrative machinery in general, were rather detrimental in the past.

In the whole state and political system it is necessary to create, purposefully, such relations and rules that would, on the one hand, provide the necessary safeguards to professional officials in their functions and, on the other hand, enable the necessary replacement of officials who can no longer cope with their work by professionally and politically more competent people. This means to establish legal conditions for the recall of responsible officials and to provide legal guarantees of decent conditions for those who are leaving their posts through the normal way of replacement, so that their departure should not amount to a "drop" in their material and moral-political standing.

The Party policy is based on the principle that no undue concentration of power must occur, throughout the state machinery, in one sector, one body, or in a single individual. It is necessary to provide for such a division of power and such a system of mutual supervision that any faults or encroachments of any of its links are rectified in time, by the activities of another link. This principle must be applied not only to relations between the elected and executive bodies, but also to the inner relations of the state administration machinery and to the standing and activities of courts of law.

This principle is infringed mainly by undue concentration of duties in the existing ministry of the interior. The Party thinks it necessary to make of it a ministry for internal state administration including the administration of public security. The schedule that in our state was traditionally within the jurisdiction of other bodies and with the passage of time has been incorporated into the ministry of the interior, must be withdrawn from it. It is necessary

to elaborate proposals as soon as possible passing on the main responsibility for investigation to the courts of law, separating prison administration from the security force, and handing over of press law administration, of archives, etc. to other state bodies.

The Party considers the problem of a correct incorporation of the security force in the state as politically very important. The security of our lives will only benefit, if everything is eliminated that helps to maintain a public view of the security force marred by the past period of law violations and by the privileged position of the security force in the political system. That past period impaired the progressive traditions of our security force as a force advancing side by side with our people. These traditions must be renewed. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia deems it necessary to change the organization of the security force and to split the joint organization into two mutually independent parts - State Security and Public Security. The State Security service must have such a status, organizational structure, numerical state, equipment, methods of work, and qualifications which are in keeping with its work of defending the state from the activities of enemy centres abroad. Every citizen who has not been culpable in this respect must know with certainty that his political convictions and opinions, his personal beliefs and activities, cannot be the object of attention of the bodies of the State Security service. The Party declares clearly that this apparatus should not be directed and used to solve internal political questions and controversies in socialist society.

The Public Security service will fulfil tasks in combating crime and in the protection of public order; for this its organization, numerical state, and methods of work must be adapted. The Public Security force must be better equipped and strengthened; its functions in the defence of public order must be exactly laid down by law and, in their

fulfilment, the service will be directed by the national committees. Legal norms must create clearer relations of control over the security force by the government as a whole and by the National Assembly.

It is necessary to devote the appropriate care to carrying out the defence policy in our state. In this connection it is necessary to work for our active share in the conception of the military doctrine of the Warsaw Treaty countries, the strengthening of the defence potential of our country in harmony with its needs and possibilities, a uniform complex understanding of the questions of defence with all problems of the building of socialism in the whole of our policy, including defence training.

The legal policy of the Party is based on the principle that in a dispute over right /including administrative decisions of state bodies/ the basic guarantee of legality is proceedings in court which are independent of political factors and are bound only by law. The application of this principle requires a strengthening of the whole social and political role and importance of courts of law in our society. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will see to it that work on the complex of the required proposals and measures proceeds so as to find the answer to all the necessary problems before the next election of judges. In harmony with and parallel to that, it is also necessary to solve the status and duties of the public prosecutor's office so that it may not be put above the courts of law, and to guarantee full independence of barristers and solicitors from state bodies.

#### Youth and its organization

We regard young people as those who are to continue in the socialist transformation of the society. The present

political activity and the part young people take in the social process of revitalization proves the reproaches often addressed against them to be without any foundation. The decisive part of the working and student youth is, by its energy, critical approach, matter-of-factness, and initiation a natural ally and important factor in the creation and implementation of the programmed aims of the Party. For this reason, it is indispensable to open wide and confidently the doors of our Party to young people.

At the same time it is necessary to give young people of all social categories, in proportion to their age and abilities, full possibility of co-deciding on all their own public matters in elected bodies; their organizations should be recognized as partners of Party and social organizations, economic bodies, national committees, and administration of schools in solving social, working, study, and other urgent problems of youth and children. Young people must be given the opportunity of timely application of their knowledge, qualifications, and talents in appropriate places including leading positions. Cultural, sporting and recreation facilities must be built with their cooperation for them to spend their leisure in a healthy and effective way. The work of voluntary and professional trainers, coaches, instructors, and other workers who sacrifice their time and devote their abilities to children and youth as socially highly beneficial and praiseworthy must be appreciated.

In this connection, let us say a few words of self-criticism on the relations of the Party and the Czechoslovak Union of Youth. Until recently, we expected the latter or its representatives to pass on to the young people more or less ready-made instructions, often the result of subjective opinions, which tactlessly interfered with the internal affairs of the youth organization. We did not sufficiently influence young communists to take part in the creation of Party policies by making them consistently defend, develop,

and express the interests, needs, requirements, and viewpoints of the youth as a whole and of its individual categories. Thus the initiative of the youth and the role of its organization was impaired in public and political life. This tendency was strengthened by the incorrect principle of direct Party control of the Czechoslovak Union of Youth.

However, the independence of the youth and children's movement does not eliminate, but in fact presupposes ideological guiding, a systematic interest of the whole Party in the problems of youth and of children's education, the practical help of communists to children's and youth collectives and tactful attention to young people in everyday life.

The multiformity of needs, interests and frequently changing inclinations of young people, which itself is internally differentiated as regards age, social strata, qualifications, etc., requires also a diversified and differentiated organization of children and young people. Apart from partial interests and inclinations of the moment of individual categories of young people, there are the pressing immediate and prospective needs and interests affecting the whole younger generation, which can be expressed and pushed through only by joint action of all the important youth categories; this calls for a suitable form of organization and social representation of young people. We are of the opinion, without, of course, wanting to prescribe any pattern of youth organization, that a form of federation would be most fitting for the present needs and situation of youth and children's movements.

It will depend, to a great extent, on the present officials of the Czechoslovak Union of Youth and of other social organizations to assist this process, to prevent both a suppressing and an unnecessary diversification of the sound initiative of young people, to make use, purposefully, of all experience and opportunities in the search for the best formed development of our socialist youth and children's movement.

## THE NATIONAL ECONOMY AND

### THE STANDARD OF LIVING

The 13th Congress approved conclusions stating that the improvement of our economy and the transition to intensive economic development cannot be achieved by traditional approaches or partial improvements of the directive system of management and planning, but by a basic change of the mechanism of socialist economy. The idea which prevailed was the idea of an economic reform based on a new economic system, the revival of the positive functions of the socialist market, necessary structural changes of the economy and a profound change in the role of the economic plan which would cease to be an instrument for issuing orders and would become an instrument enabling society to find the most suitable long-range trends of its development by scientific methods; a change from an instrument designed to enforce subjectively determined material proportions into a programme of economic policy, ensuring an effective development of economy and the growth of the standard of living. The implementation of the first important steps of the economic reform has met with the active support of the working people, experts and the broad public.

Certain features of the economic development over the past two years, better utilization of production factors, the drop of the share of material costs in the social product, the growing demands placed by consumers on the technical level and the quality of products etc., fully confirm the correctness of the conclusions adopted by the 13th Congress. These positive features of the economic development have not so far resulted in a better satisfaction of the needs of society and have not led to reducing

the tension on the internal market. This is objectively caused by the fact that the former tendencies are still strongly apparent, that the old structure of production and foreign trade still survives and that production is being only slowly adapted to the changes and the growing demand of the market. This is connected with many inconsistencies and gaps in implementing the programme of economic reform.

Instead of a consistent effort to establish more objective market criteria which would expose the economic backwardness and old deformations of the economic structure and gradually eliminate their existence, there are still considerable efforts to deform these criteria, to adapt them to the given conditions and thus create an easy situation in which the backwardness and the deformations would remain concealed, could survive and thrive at the expense of us all.

The system of protectionism applied will regard to economic backwardness, connected with the policy of prices, subsidies and grants and mainly with the system of surcharges in foreign trade continues to prevail in the economic policy. The confused system of protectionism is creating conditions under which ineffective backward enterprises, managed in an unqualified way, may exist and are often given preferences. It is not possible to blunt for ever the economic policy by taking from those who work well and giving those who work badly. It is therefore necessary to objectivize value relations that the differences in the income situation between enterprises should really reflect actual differences in the level of their economic activities. Nor is it politically correct for the consumer to pay indefinitely for inefficiency by means of prices, taxes and indirectly by different forms of siphoning off means of effective enterprises.

Enterprises facing a demanding market must be given a free hand in making decisions on all questions concerning directly the management of the enterprise and its economy

and must be allowed to react in a creative way to the needs of the market. A demanding market, together with the economic policy, will thus put pressure on production to become more effective and to introduce healthy structural changes. Economic competition, especially with advanced foreign firms, must be the basic stimulus for improving production and reducing costs. This competition cannot be replaced by subjective adjustments of economic conditions and by directive orders of superior bodies.

### Socialism cannot do without enterprising.

The programme of democratization in economy links the economic reform more closely with the processes facing us in the sphere of politics and the general management of society, and stimulates the determination and application of new elements which would develop the economic reform even further. The programme of democratization of the economy includes particularly the provision of ensuring the independence of enterprises and enterprise groupings and their relative independence from state bodies, a full and real implementation of the right of the consumer to determine his consumption and his style of life, the right of a free choice of working activity, the right and real possibility of different groups of the working people and different social groups to formulate and defend their economic interests in shaping the economic policy.

In developing democratic relations in the economy we at present consider as the most important task the final formulation of the economic position of enterprises, their authority and responsibility.

The economic reform will increasingly push whole working teams of socialist enterprises into positions in which they will feel directly the consequences of both the good

and bad management of enterprises. The Party therefore deems it necessary that the whole working team which bears the consequences should also be able to influence the management of the enterprise. There arises the need of democratic bodies in enterprises with determined rights towards the management of the enterprise. Managers and head executives of the enterprises, which would also appoint them to their functions would be accountable to these bodies for the overall results of their work. These bodies must become a direct part of the managing mechanism of enterprises, and not a social organization /they cannot therefore be identified with trade unions/. These bodies would be formed by elected representatives of the working team and by representatives of certain components outside the enterprise ensuring the influence of the interests of the entire society and an expert and qualified level of decision-making; the representation of these components must also be subordinated to democratic forms of control. At the same time it is necessary to define the degree of responsibility of these bodies for the results of the management of socialist property. In the spirit of these principles it is important to solve many concrete questions; at the same time it will be necessary to propose a statute of these bodies and to use certain traditions of our works' councils from the years 1945-48 and experiences in modern enterprising.

This naturally in no way reduces the indivisible authority and responsibility of the leading executives in managing the enterprise which, together with their qualifications and managing abilities, is the basic pre-condition of successful enterprising.

In this connection it is also necessary to reassess the present role of trade unions. In the centralized system, their function of supporting directive management blended with defending the interests of the working people. Moreover, they performed also certain state functions /labour legislation etc./. The resulting situation was that on the one side

they took inadequate care of the interests of the working people and on the other they were accused of "protectionism". Even socialist economy places working people into a position in which it is necessary to defend human, social and other interests in an organized way. The central function of trade unions should be to defend with increasing emphasis employment and working interests of the workers and the working people, to appear from this aspect as an important partner in solving all questions of economic management; on this platform, the trade unions would develop more effectively also their function of organizing workers and employees for a positive solution of the problems of socialist construction and their educational function connected therewith. Committees in trade unions will proceed from these principles and ensure in an initiative way that the trade unions themselves analyze their position, the functions and activities of the central and union bodies on the basis of the whole Action Programme of the Party, that they evaluate the internal life of trade unions as an independent democratic organization and work out their own political line in solving these questions.

The enterprise must have the right of choosing its organizational integration. Supra-enterprise bodies of the type of the present general and branch managements/ cannot be imbued with State administrative power. The individual branches must, with due regard to their conditions, be in future enabled to transform into voluntary associations, on the basis of the economic interest and requirements of enterprises. Enterprises must have the right to decide about the content of the activity of these associations, the right to leave them and become independent and to join such associations which will ensure in a better way the functions following from the concentration and specialization of production and from integration processes.

The withdrawal of enterprises from the existing supra-enterprise agglomerations and their free association cannot begin before the rules for this process are outlined by the government; during the transition period it will be necessary to ensure that even after becoming independent the enterprises should fulfill the precisely termed financial and cooperation obligations set to them before, and resulting from their previous membership in the supra-enterprise body.

It is necessary to put an end to the previous simplified, schematic approach to formulating the organizational structure of production and trade. The structure of enterprises must be varied, just as are the demands of our market. It is therefore necessary to count also with the development of small and medium-sized socialist enterprises, whose importance lies in the first place in the complexization of production, in a fast supply of new items to the market and in a flexible reaction to the different demands of customers. In the development of the organizational structure of production and trade it is necessary to open up scope for economic competition among enterprises of all sorts and forms of enterprising, in the first place in the sphere of production and supply of consumer goods and food-stuffs.

Agricultural production contributes to a great extent towards the consolidation of our national economy. The latest period and particularly the future needs of the economy clearly emphasize this positive role of consolidation of agriculture whose composition should develop in a way which would gradually ensure a rational structure of nutrition to the population. This is why the Party considers it necessary to raise and concentrate the aid of the State and of all branches, especially the chemical and engineering industry, in ensuring the growth of crop and animal production. This is and continues to be the fore-

most tasks of our economic policy.

Cooperative enterprising in agricultural production is of exceptional importance for the development of our economy. The Party supports the conclusions of the Seventh Congress of the Unified Agricultural Cooperatives, particularly the creation of a national organization of cooperative farmers, the right of the unified agricultural cooperatives to do business also in other branches and the possibility of selling part of farm products directly to the population and to retailers. The State bodies will help to ensure all-year employment for the farming population.

The Party considers the development of agricultural production in cooperatives and in State farms to be the decisive line of large-scale production in agriculture. It would be expedient for Communists to prepare proposals which will develop new forms of closer contacts of agricultural producers with supply and sales organizations of agricultural products so that these new forms may ensure direct contact of agricultural production with suppliers and the market and would be to a certain extent similar to the former farm cooperatives.

We shall support the development of different forms of credit in farming and recommend to examine the whole credit system in agricultural economy. At the same time, the Central Committee recommends that agricultural and other State managing bodies should seek and support also other forms of business in utilizing land in mountainous, hilly and border regions. In the border regions it is necessary to strive for the creation of further suitable conditions designed to intensify economic activities, i.e. to make better use of existing small workshops, to extend recreation possibilities and engage in further capital construction. This should help stabilize the settlement of the border regions and normalize their life. Even though the production

of individual farmers constitutes a relatively small part of overall production, it is important to facilitate their work, to improve their conditions of economy and to enable their cooperation with cooperative and State enterprises.

In keeping with the proposals made at the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, it is also necessary to create possibilities for cooperative enterprising wherever cooperatives earn the money for their activity. It will be expedient to make individual cooperatives independent economic and social organizations with full rights, to abolish inexpedient administrative centralization of cooperatives and to create only such bodies superior to cooperative enterprises whose economic activity is advantageous for them. In connection with the development of cooperative enterprising, it appears to be expedient to elaborate more thoroughly the co-ownership relations of cooperative farmers towards cooperative property.

A serious shortcoming existing in economic life over a long period of time is the low standard and shortage of services of all sorts which reduces the standard of living and arouses justified discontent among the population. The improvement of communal services /water, gas, sewerage, municipal transport, road cleaning etc./ will require considerable investments and can be achieved only gradually while ensuring their profitability. The unsatisfactory state existing in other services is caused by the way of their organization and their exacting administration, by low interest of the workers in their economic results, by the fact that certain services are unprofitable, by bad supply of material and low and wrong investments.

Neither the standard of productive forces, nor the character of work in services, repairs and artisan production correspond to the present high centralization in their management and organization which involves quite unnecessary



administration and burdens the services with inexpedient costs. This is why it is necessary to take immediate measures for improving and extending all existing forms of services /cooperatives, communal enterprises/, to simplify their management and organization in the spirit of the principles of the new system. In the sphere of services it is particularly justified to make individual shops independent and to remove unnecessary administrative links of management. Small-scale individual enterprising is also justified in the sphere of services. In this respect it is necessary to work out legal provisions concerning small-scale enterprising, which would help fill the existing gap in our market.

### The role of the State in economy

The expansion of social wealth is the concern of our entire society. The actual tasks and responsibility fall both on enterprises and on managing bodies, particularly on the Government. It is therefore their common interest and task to make use of the growing political activity of the working people, which has been taking place since the December and January plenums of the Central Committee, and to win them over for the road which means the consolidation of the national economy.

To achieve this it is necessary to adjust the whole organism of the implementation of the economic policy of the State. The appropriate organizational questions must be solved by State and economic bodies. At the same time the Party considers it desirable that the final set up should correspond to the following principles:

Decision-making about the plan and the economic policy of the State must be both a process of mutual confrontation and harmonization of different interests - i.e. the interests of enterprising, consumers, employees, different

social groups of the population, nations etc. - and a process of a suitable combination of view of the long-term development of the economy and its immediate prosperity. Effective measures protecting the consumer against the abuse of the monopoly position and economic power of production and trading enterprises must be considered as a necessary part of the economic activity of the State.

The drafting of the national economic plan and the national economy policy must be subject to democratic control of the National Assembly and specialized control of scientific institutions. The supreme body implementing the economic policy of the State is the Government. This presupposes such an institutional set-up of central management which would make it possible in the process of decision-making to express and unify special interests and views and to harmonize, in the implementation of the economic policy, the operation of individual economic instruments and measures of the State. At the same time, the institutional set-up of the bodies of economic management must not offer opportunities for the assertion of departmental and monopoly interests and must ensure a marked superiority of the interests of citizens as consumers and sovereign bearers of the economic movement. In all central economic bodies it is indispensable to ensure a high level of specialization, rationalization and modernization of managing work, to which the necessary changes in cadres must be also subordinated. All this must be the concern of a group of government bodies which analyze the national economy, work on alternative solutions of this development and the national economic plan, compare the planned development with the real development in the market, and proceeding from these findings, take effective economic measures etc., and thus consistently and purposefully influence the real movement in the economic sphere (i.e. the activity of enterprise and their associations) in the direction outlined by the economic policy of the State. State bodies approach enterprises and their associations and integrated groups

in the same way as they approach other independent legal subjects. The means which are at the disposal of the State, are the result of the work of all the people and must be used for satisfying the needs of the entire society in a way which society recognizes to be reasonable and useful. An important part of economic management must be a well conceived technical policy based on the analysis of technical progress in the whole world and on own conceptions of economic development. The purpose of this policy will be to regulate the technical level of the production base and to create economic conditions which would arouse strong interest in seeking and using the most up-to-date technology.

In this connection it would be useful for the State bodies concerned to examine all kinds of public expenditure and for the Government to work out a programme of State and public measures designed to reduce expenditure. The State budget must become an instrument for restoring the equilibrium and not for its weakening. The Central Committee considers it necessary and possible to reveal and reasonably utilize extraordinary internal and external resources for achieving a speedy restoration of the economic equilibrium.

At the same time, the Central Committee appeals to all enterprises, their associations, plants and workshops to work out and implement, in connection with their enhanced economic authority, a programme of rationalization of all planning, productive and business activity, in order to achieve a concerted harmonization of work and to reduce production costs. The programme of rationalization is the precondition for an economic evaluation of existing capacities and for technical modernization of production.

We are putting great hope into reviving the positive functions of the market as a necessary mechanism of the functioning of socialist economy and for checking whether the work in enterprises has been expended in a socially use-

full way. However, we have in mind not the capitalist, but the socialist market, and not its uncontrolled but its regulated utilization. The plan and the national economic policy must appear as a positive force contributing to the normalization of the market and directed against tendencies of economic imbalance and against monopolistic control of the market. The society must do the planning with due insight and perspective, it must scientifically discover the possibilities of its future development and choose its most reasonable orientation. This, however, cannot be achieved by suppressing the independence of other subjects of the market /enterprises and the population/, since this would on the one hand undermine the interest ensuring economic rationality, on the other hand it would deform information and decision-making processes which are indispensably necessary for the functioning of the economy.

The economic structure of Czechoslovakia, its technical standard, concentration and specialization must be developed in a way enabling it to react quickly to economic changes at home and in the world.

The level of the adaptability and flexibility of the national economy is also the result of the skill and the technical and cultural standard of the working people, their ability to adapt themselves quickly to the changing technical and economic conditions of production. From the point of view of the resources of economic growth in Czechoslovakia, manpower, their abilities and quality, technical and cultural standard as well as their adaptability and mobility are of quite exceptional importance. Even from the point of view of future economic growth, the Czechoslovak economy does not possess more promising resources than are its great human resources. Czech and Slovak workers and farmers have always been known for their know-how, their skill and creative approach to work. As a result of the directive method of management, the new generation has only partly taken over

these qualities from the older generation. Instead of the feeling of satisfaction from well done work, there frequently developed indifference, mechanical fulfilment of tasks, and resignation to situations caused by incompetent and un-initiative management. The Party believes that the prime condition for eliminating these losses is to put to leading positions people who are really capable and who are able to secure natural authority in working teams by their professional and human level.

### Effective inclusion in international division of labour

Experience resulting from the many years' isolation of economic units from the competitive pressure of the world market, has clearly shown that this creates exceptional conditions for the activity of economic units, conditions resulting especially in relative lagging behind the rate of technical progress and of structural economic changes this progress conditions, in the loss of competitiveness of our products on the world markets and in the creation of undue tension in external trade and payment relations. The limited raw material base of our economy and the limited size of the home market make it impossible to implement the changes in the material base of production carried along by the scientific and technical revolution without widely integrating our economy into the developing international division of labour.

The development of international economic relations will continue to be based on economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, particularly those aligned in the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. At the same time, however, it should be seen that the success of this cooperation will increasingly depend on the competitiveness of our products. The position of our country in

the development of international division of labour will strengthen with the more general convertibility of our products. In our relations with the CMEA countries we shall strive for the fuller application of criteria of economic calculations and mutual advantage of exchange.

We shall also actively support the development of economic relations with all other countries in the world, which show interest in them on the basis of equality, mutual advantages and without discrimination. We support the development of progressive forms of international collaboration, especially cooperation in production and in the pre-production stage, the exchange of scientific and technical know-how, business in licences and suitable forms of credit and capital cooperation with interested countries.

The opening up of our economy to the pressure of the world market makes it necessary to consistently rid the foreign trade monopoly of the administrative conception and methods and to eliminate directive management in foreign trade transactions. In this sphere, the Central Committee considers it necessary to carry out an effective State commercial and currency policy, based particularly on economic rules and instruments of indirect management.

The Central Committee considers it indispensable to raise the authority and responsibility of enterprises for the concrete implementation of international economic relations. Production and trading enterprises must have the right to choose their export and import organizations. At the same time it is necessary to formulate conditions under which, if they are fulfilled, enterprises would be entitled to act independently on foreign markets.

The many years' isolation of our economy from the world markets has divorced home trade price relations from price relations in the world market. Under this situation, we consider it necessary to enforce the line of bringing

the home and world market prices gradually closer together. This practically means a more energetic elimination of various surcharges and subsidies to prices of the foreign market. Enterprises must be aware that this is only a temporary protection, they are receiving from the State and on which they cannot count indefinitely, and must therefore work out a programme of such changes in production which will enable them already in the next few years to do without subsidies and surcharges. Another side of this policy of eliminating price surcharges and subsidies must be a more broad-minded approach to those branches and enterprises in the national economy, which are from the point of view of the national economy capable of selling effectively their products in foreign markets. The Party considers it expedient to speed up the necessary changes in the present system of price relations and put them gradually in order both by the pressure of the market forces and by creating a proper rational price system through purposive economic policy of the State. This policy must be accompanied by energetic measures designed to ensure internal stability of the currency. This presupposes the development of the production of effective and good-quality funds of products marketable on foreign markets, the achievement of equilibrium in the internal market of commodities, money and labour, an effective restrictive investment policy, the achievement of equilibrium in the balance of payment and the creation of necessary currency reserves.

The phased opening up of our economy to the world market, whose final aim is to create conditions for the convertibility of our currency must be carried out in an extent that would not pile up too many social problems and would not endanger the growth of the standard of living. However, it must be realized that we are living in conditions of sharp competition and that every concession today will worsen the prerequisites of effective economic development and of the growth of the standard of living in the future.

### Problems of the standard of living - an urgent task of the economic policy

The basic aim of the Party in developing the economic policy is the steady growth of the standard of living. However, the development of the economy was in the past one-sidedly focussed on the growth of heavy industry with long-term returnability of investments. This was done to a considerable extent at the expense of the development of agriculture and the consumer goods industry, the development of the production of building materials, trade, services and non-productive basic assets, particularly in housing construction. This one-sided character of the former economic development cannot be changed overnight. If, however, we take advantage of the great reserve existing in the organization of production and work, as well as in the technical and economic standard of production and products, if we consider the possibilities offered by a skillful utilization of the new system of management, we can substantially speed up the creation of resources and on this basis to raise the growth of nominal wages and the general standard of living.

Greater stress in the growth of the standard of living must be laid on the growth of wages and salaries. However, the growth of average wages and salaries cannot be speeded up in the way that enterprises will raise wages regardless of the real economic results. It will be necessary to consistently apply the principle that the development of wages depends on really achieved production which will find its social utilization. The methods of influencing the development of wages will have to be in this sense elaborated. In keeping with the growth of wages in production, it is at the same time necessary to ensure the growth

of wages in education, health services and other non-productive branches.

The present system of retail prices is markedly divorced from the costs of production, gives an incorrect orientation to the structure of personal consumption of the population including the consumption of food and in its consequences reduces the possible degree of satisfying their requirements. Under these conditions it is indispensable to be more energetic in removing existing disproportions in prices so as to create prerequisites for a faster growth of the standard of living. The solution of these questions will require opposite movements of prices of individual products and their groups - the prices of some articles will have to be raised and others will have to be reduced. Rational price relations cannot be fixed and proclaimed by a State authority, it is necessary to enable market forces to influence their creation. This naturally involves a certain risk that the changes of price relations will take place along with a certain growth of the level of prices; this risk results from the fact that in the situation we have taken over from the directive system of management overall demand is greater than supply. While opening up the required scope to internal price movements, the central bodies must therefore regulate general economic relations in a way preventing an excessive growth of the price level and ensuring the growth of real wages by at least 2.5 - 3 per cent per year.

It is not possible in the nearest future to substantially raise claims for appropriations from social funds, since this could not be done without substantially weakening remunerations for work. However, in the spirit of the resolution adopted by the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in December 1967, it is possible to solve the most urgent problems of social policy, such as the raising of low pensions, the extension of paid maternity leave and aid to families with children. It is also possible to outline the principle that social

pensions will grow in keeping with the growth of the cost of living. The Central Committee demands from State bodies to ensure the removal of obstacles which weaken the interest of citizens to permanently continue active work after qualifying for old age pensions. We also want to examine the justification of certain measures carried out in connection with the reorganization of the social security system in 1964 /for example the taxation of pensions and the possibility of its gradual removal, the introduction of a higher basic qualifying for students' scholarships etc./. We consider it necessary to raise the social security allowances of those who participated in the national struggle for the liberation. We shall also elaborate the conception and the further course of improving the wage tax system so that it might be possible after 1970 to solve more justly the taxation of women, mothers and persons who have brought up children, and to further strengthen measures promoting a more favourable population development.

An important component determining the standard of living and the style of life is the care for the health of the people. In our society, we have introduced a number of measures in health care which capitalism was unable to solve. However, there are still many untapped possibilities in this sphere, both in the organization of health care and of spa services as well as in the working conditions of doctors and health personnel. The Central Committee appeals to Communists in the health service and to other health workers to submit their initiative proposals designed to solve the problems which unnecessarily embitter citizens and health workers and which are the result of bureaucratic methods in medical care.

From the point of view of preventive care designed to strengthen the health of the people, particularly children and youth, and of effective use of spare time, we con-

sider it indispensable to duly appreciate the social importance of all forms of physical and para-military training and recreation; we are in this respect expecting a principled stand from the government and the educational administration as well as initiative from social organizations.

An important qualitative aspect of the standard of living will be the general introduction of a five-day working week for which it is necessary to create technological, organizational, economic and political conditions in order to enable its operation already at the end of 1968.

It is a serious shortcoming that the programme of housing construction was not carried out in the past years. We at present regard the solution of housing construction as the altogether decisive question of the standard of living. We consider it necessary to concentrate forces in this sphere and to secure also the necessary support of the Government and of State bodies for substantially raising, the annual number of flats built by building organizations and for utilizing the initiative of the population in building family houses. At the same time, it is necessary to work out a conception of a long-term housing policy corresponding with the changing social conditions, which would gain the confidence and support of the population, promote the interest of citizens in building and modernizing flats and which would also influence the development of the material basis of the building industry and its capacity. For a transitional period it will be also expedient to endeavour to employ building organizations and manpower of other countries and concentrate construction to places where the need is most urgent.

It is characteristic of the bureaucratic and centralist tendencies, applied over and over again in our life in the past that one of the places most affected by insensibility towards people is the centre of our Republic, Prague.

The capital city, with its experienced and highly qualified cadres of workers, technicians, scientists, artists, organizers of our construction and which comprises an immense wealth of monuments and cultural values, has paid dearly for sectarianism in economy and politics, for the low standard of responsible officials. Its facilities and amenities are not in keeping with its social functions, growing tourism and the requirements of the life of its inhabitants. It is indisputably necessary to speed up housing construction in the capital and, in addition, to concentrate efforts on at least some of the other problems which annoy the people in Prague most: municipal and suburban transport, as well as cleanliness in the city. It is necessary to solve similarly the problems of the capital city of Slovakia-Bratislava. To see to it that as many children as possible from these cities may be able to spend their holidays outside the capital in view of the present inadequate possibilities of recreation in Prague.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that despite the faster growth of the standard of living, the present results and these measures do not by far meet existing needs. Nor do they correspond to our real economic possibilities; however, the low effectiveness of our economy is creating barriers which in the process of the further satisfaction of personal and social needs can be overcome only by efforts to mobilize the reserves and to develop resources in production. The elimination of the shortcomings in economy will require time. But we are convinced that the consistent implementation of the economic reform and the activation of all Communists and non-party members will enable our country to embark upon the road of a fast, modern development of the economy.

By rational utilization of the resources in Slovakia  
to the prosperity of the Republic

The economy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is the integration of two national economies which makes it possible to multiply the economic potential of our entire society. This is conditioned by rational utilization of the resources and reserves of the growth of both our national political regions in the interest of an effective development of the Czechoslovak national economy as well as by the creation of a social and economic balance between the various regions. The new constitutional set up must definitely rely on the integration basis and further integration tendencies in the economy of the entire State.

The past development of Slovakia within the unified Czechoslovak economy was marked by major changes in the economic and living standard. Slovakia has become an advanced industrially developed agricultural part of the Republic. For the further development of the integrated Czechoslovak economy it is not decisive to make partial individual adjustments but to fundamentally elaborate the rational integration of the national political regions in the economic complex of the entire State.

However, the undeniable achievements were accompanied by the emergence of serious problems. Slovakia's share in the creation of the national income increased from 14.2 per cent in 1948 to 24.4 per cent in 1965, it is not adequate to the possibilities of growth which exist in Slovakia. /Favourable geographic position, qualitative changes in the fund of manpower, possibilities of space concentration, new basis of chemistry, metallurgy, fuels and power, agriculture, natural resources./

The processes of creating a balanced social and economic level between Slovakia and the Czech lands are characterized by their internal contradictions. An undeniable success of the Party policy is the elimination of social and economic backwardness and the decrease of relative per capita differences. However, the faster rate of growth was not sufficient for reducing absolute differences. The process of creating a balanced level was not based on the conception of national economic effectiveness of the development of the Czechoslovak economy.

The existing problems are caused mainly by the fact that the extensive economic growth of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was markedly enforced also in the economic development of Slovakia. The potential source of growth was not used rationally, both in industry and in agriculture. The tertiary sphere, particularly the build-up of the scientific, research and development bases, has lagged greatly behind. Slovakia's development was not sufficiently coordinated, it proceeded along departmental lines, without internal integration relations of modern economic entities.

The intensive development of Slovakia's economy is conditioned by a complex of measures connected with the solution of short-term factual problems, with the clarification of conceptual questions of long-term development, with the effective operation of the new system of management and with the definition of the competence and authority of the Slovak national bodies.

The measures designed to speed up Slovakia's economic development up to 1970 constitute the starting-point for a fundamental change in Slovakia's integration into the process of transition of the Czechoslovak economy to the road of intensive growth. At the same time it is necessary to seek possibilities of solving acute problems: employment, the lagging behind of micro-regions with special re-

gard to those which are inhabited by Hungarian and Ukrainian fellow-citizens, specific problems of the standard of living, particularly the housing problem etc.

It is of decisive importance for Slovakia's long term economic development to raise substantially Slovakia's participation in the creation and the utilization of the national income and to solve the task of creating a balanced economic level essentially by 1980.

This necessitates faster economic development in Slovakia than is the national average. The prerequisite of this is to give strong support to progressive structural changes, to intensify agricultural production and the inter-connected processing industry; to develop the tertiary sector in all spheres; to purposefully concentrate production and the infra-structure.

The development of Slovakia is taking place within the new system of management. However, this system in its present form has not created scope for the development policy of national political regions. Past adjustments of the plan and of economic instruments are not sufficient. It is therefore necessary to elaborate the system of management in such a way as to ensure that also territorial and national aspects of development become an equal organic component of the system of management of the entire national economy.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENCE, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

At the present stage we must base the development of our society to a much greater extent on the progress and application of science, education and culture. It will be necessary that their wealth is used fully and completely to the benefit of socialism and that our people should understand the complicated claims connected with creative work in these spheres.

### The importance of Science in our Society is Growing

Socialism originates, lasts and wins by the connection of the working movement with science. There is no relationship of subordination and compromise between these forces. The more resolute and impartial is the advancement of science, the more is it in harmony with the interests of socialism; the greater are the achievements of the working people, the bigger is the scope opened up to science. In the relationship to the development and application of science in the life of socialist society is reflected how much the working people are aware of their historical tasks, to what extent they really enforce them. Socialism stands and falls with science, just as it stands and falls with the power of the working people.

Just now, at the beginning of the scientific-technological revolution in the world, the social position of science is changing considerably. Its application in the entire life of society is becoming the basic condition for the intensive development of the economy, care for man and



his living environment, culture of the society and growth of the personality, modern methods of management and administration, the development of relations between people and the solving of various problems raised by the current period. It is in the field of science and technology where the victory of socialism over capitalism is decided in long-term perspective.

Therefore the Party regards it as one of its primary tasks to provide an ever greater scope for the promotion of creative scientific work and for a timely and more efficient application of its results in social practice.

Relatively complete foundations of basic, applied research and development unprecedented in extent and importance, have been built up in this country together with the construction of socialism. A number of qualified scientific workers have grown up, who made an important contribution by their achievements to building up this country and whose qualification is recognized all over the world. In spite of this the opportunities offered by socialism for the development of science and especially for the application of its results to the benefit of society are, for the time being, far from being fully used which is also because of the still existing branch barriers between science, technological development and production. The inflexibility of the system of management by directives, connected with the low-level qualification of managing personnel is the reason for this; in the sphere of research the reasons are mainly differences in the level of applied research institutes, caused by lack of scientifically trained staff.

To solve the existing state we shall continue making substantial improvements particularly in the material conditions of our basic research so that in the decisive branches it could remain permanently at a world level. The development of science must at the same time proceed from the

real possibilities of Czechoslovakia as a middle-size country, which can ensure top-level scientific research only by efficient specialization and concentration of energy in connection with extensive international cooperation and exploitation of the results of world science as such. Therefore it is also necessary to develop the system of the evaluation of scientific workers in such a way that selected progressive, scientific and socially important directions of research be supported more fully by a system of moral and material incentives.

If the social sciences are really to become an official instrument of scientific self-cognition of socialist society, it is necessary to respect the principles of their internal life and to ensure such a position and conditions for them as would enable them to achieve high scientific standards. By means of its bodies the Party will take the initiative in encouraging the development of social sciences and contributing towards their orientation to important social problems; but it does not interfere with the very process of creative scientific work and in this respect relies on the initiative and social responsibility of scientists themselves.

In addition to creating favourable conditions for the very development of science it is an urgent task to strive for surmounting all the obstacles between science on the one hand and social practice on the other. Even though the full and more consistent application of the new system of management is expected to bring the fundamental solution, we shall help this process also by new measures at the level of central management. The Party will especially support the development of feasible stimuli for the application of the results of science in production and other social practice and for a rapid improvement of the qualification structure of slowly developing applied research institutes. At the same time we shall also support a more profound exami-

nation of the social function of science, especially the problem of its effectiveness and the relationship between science and economy in Czechoslovak conditions.

The development of socialist society is at the same time a process of constant increase of the social involvement and responsibility of science and its application in the management and shaping of the entire life of society. We shall strive on a broader scale than hitherto for scientific staff to take part in the work of representative bodies and in the activities of other bodies of social management; we shall intensify the active participation of scientific institutions and scientific workers in drawing up proposals for political and economic measures. We shall encourage the application of scientific workers in social management and the system of education on the broadest possible scale and create favourable social and economic conditions for their activity in these fields. We shall prepare without delay the introduction of a binding system of scientific expertise and opponency on important proposals. This will contribute towards qualified decisions at all levels of management.

#### Quality of education -

##### the aim of our educational system

The progress of the socialist society is conditioned by the growth in education of the people. This is a precondition for solving initial tasks of the scientific-technological revolution, promoting the relations and institutions of socialist democracy and further asserting the cultural and humanistic character of socialism and the development and employment of every man in it.

Therefore we regard further progress of education as a primary task. In this respect we proceed from the traditions of the education of our nations and from the good

results by which the socialist stage of development has improved our school system, especially by its broad democratization and materialization of the principles of co-education. It is still necessary to surmount the consequences of past shortcomings, when the quantitative development of education was frequently achieved at the expense of the quality of teaching. Neither was sufficient care given to the qualitative training of teachers. The frequent reorganization in the past did not contribute to the desirable improvement of the standard of education. On the contrary, this was the reason why, in many respects, it was lagging behind the existing needs and future demands. Therefore it is a foremost task today to concentrate the main attention and strength towards a purposeful improvement of the standard, exaction and value of education and especially towards improving and raising the standard of general education of people, towards expanding the base for a more efficient choice and education of talents, and towards modernizing the content, forms and means of education.

The dynamic development of our economy and of the whole society requires an end of the underevaluation of education and of the needs of schools and teachers; it requires that a much bigger proportion be set aside from social resources for the development of education. We shall ensure that educational bodies in cooperation with the broad masses prudently materialize projects which will enable our economy to fully keep pace with the dynamics of the development of science and technology and with the needs of the time. We consider the following tasks as the most urgent ones:

a/ to work out a draft hypothesis on the long-term development of the educational system, which will make it possible to stabilize the development of the educational system at all levels, to solve its personnel and material

base in advance so as to gradually eliminate the unevenness in the development of education in individual regions of the country.

To prepare a new concept in harmony with the long-term project of basic polytechnic education, which would be based on the logical grasping of the subject, to take advantage of the independence and initiative of students and make it possible to fully apply the principle of differentiation according to interests and talents; to solve the urgent problems of secondary general education schools by extending the base and time of secondary general education, to improve preparations for later university studies while providing conditions for those secondary school students who will not study at universities to take up practical jobs.

To form and to gradually introduce a system of additional education of young people who start working at 15 years. To increase the thoroughness of the preparation of young skilled workers in harmony with the technological and structural changes in our economy by improving the theoretical, specialised and general education of young apprentices. To take advantage to a greater extent of the resources of plants and enterprises for the construction and equipment of apprentice centres in the sense of the new system of management of the national economy and in justified cases also to grant state subsidies. Not to allow a further increase of material investments in these establishments. The same criteria should also be applied by National Committees in the construction and equipment of apprentice schools.

b/ To create material and personnel conditions at secondary schools and universities for all young people, who fulfil the necessary requirements and proved it by their results during preceding education, to be enrolled for stu-

dies. Therefore the system of enrollment at secondary schools and universities should be made more flexible. Administrative methods should be replaced by economic and moral stimuli, a sufficient amount of information and improvement of educational advice, which will help regulate sensitively the influx of students to particular branches and bring closer the abilities and interests of individuals and the needs of society. Meanwhile secondary and university education should not be understood only as training for a certain profession, but as a means of improving the extent of education, the cultural level of man and his ability to solve new situations in the production process as well as in the economic, social and qualification structure of society. This requires simultaneously an increase in the social responsibility of economic, cultural and political institutions and of every individual for the application of education in practice.

c/ At universities, democratic principles and methods should be consistently applied in their management. The prerequisites of scientific work, unity of teaching and research should be continually strengthened, the authority and autonomy of university scientific councils should be increased. Universities should be given preference regarding modern equipment, the possibilities of scientific work should be improved, all-round cooperation between research, universities and secondary schools should be intensified, expensive equipment should be taken advantage of jointly by research institutes and universities. Universities should be given broader access to foreign literature and more opportunities of study and training visits abroad in view of their pedagogical and scientific work, while understanding correctly the importance of acquiring knowledge for the development of science and flexibly applying the principles of profitability of foreign currency resources.

d/ The structural changes in the national economy will

also require re-training and complementing of the general or specialised education of adults. Therefore it will be necessary that schools, enterprises, social organisations and mass information media /press, radio, television/ cooperate in order to improve and intensify the system of education for adults.

e/ The complexity of education management should be safeguarded by legal arrangements so as to raise the role of school administration. In this connection it will be desirable to ascertain the effectiveness of university law so as to strengthen the democratic relations in the internal and external management and the social position of universities. The authority of Slovak National Council bodies in education in Slovakia should be applied fully in view of the importance of education as a basic element of national culture.

f/ Equal study and development conditions should be consistently ensured for young people of all nationalities. An end should be put to the belittling approach towards solving problems of nationality education, and legal and institutional preconditions should be created to allow the nationalities to have something to say on the specific issues of nationality education.

The Party appreciates the work of our teachers in educating the young generation. Teachers belong above all to school and young people and their work must not be disturbed by anything. Educational work is of nation- and society- wide importance. Therefore the social position of teachers must be safeguarded in the first place by the respective state bodies and National Committees. Efforts to provide conditions essential for their work must also correspond to this. This means to ensure a high standard of the training of teachers, development of wage relations of teachers and other school staff so as to be in harmony with

the growth of the real wages of workers in other branches, and also to solve other urgent material needs of teachers so they can perform their responsible profession with full concentration. In projects and the materialization of school capital construction, it is essential to ensure its complex character including flats for teachers. The Party regards this as part of its policy to increase the prestige, authority and social importance of the educationalists of the young generation.

### The Humanistic Mission of Culture

The development of culture in the broadest sense is one of the basic conditions of dynamic and harmonious development of socialist society. The culture of socialist Czechoslovakia consists of independent and equal Czech and Slovak cultures, together with the cultures of the other nationalities. The arts and culture are not a mere decoration of economic and political life, but they are vital for the socialist system. If culture lags behind, it retards the progress of policy and economy, democracy and freedom, development of man and human relations. Care for culture, material and spiritual, is not only the concern of the cultural front, but it must become an affair of the entire society.

It was an important tradition of the Communist Party from the start that it was able to unite the best men of culture and art around itself. This is proved not only by the socialist orientation of our pre-war artistic vanguard, but also by the fact that most of the cultural intelligentsia were standing on the left or were in the ranks of the Party after the liberation in 1945. Later, especially in the early fifties, certain representative of culture were discriminated, some were subjected to unjustified political

repression and the cultural policy of the Party was also demanded.

The documents of the 13th Congress should have been a starting point of a new cultural policy, which would proceed from the best traditions of the past and from much positive experience acquired after 1956 and after the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. However, the surviving bureaucratic attitudes and old methods of management prevented the impetuses of the Congress from developing. The contradictions between the proclaimed and practiced policies were creating a conflict tension and restricting the involvement and development of socialist culture. The Central Committee will investigate all the reasons for these conflicts and will create favourable conditions to normalize the situation.

We reject administrative and bureaucratic methods of implementing cultural policy, we dissociate ourselves from them and we shall oppose them. Artistic work must not be subjected to censorship. We have full confidence in men of culture and we expect their responsibility, understanding and support. We appreciate how the workers in culture helped force through and create the humanistic and democratic character of socialism and how actively they participated in eliminating the retarding factors of its development.

It is necessary to overcome a narrowed understanding of the social and human function of culture and art, overestimation of their ideological and political role and underestimation of their basic general cultural and aesthetic tasks in the transformation of man and his world.

The Party will guard and safeguard both the freedom of artistic work and the right to make works of art accessible.

To socially administer culture means, first of all, to create favourable conditions for its development. Disputes,

which will naturally arise, will be solved by discussion and democratic decisions. Independent decisions of cultural workers in the spheres of their activity must also be an expression of the necessary autonomy of culture and art. They must be indispensable partners for state bodies. We are convinced that communist intellectuals and all other leading workers in the sphere of culture and art are capable of cooperating in the formation of, and carrying out responsibly and independently, the policy of the Party in state, social, cultural and group-interest institutions, that they are a guarantee of the socialist, humanistic orientation of our culture.

Of course, the social effect of culture does not occur outside the political context. We shall ensure that the freedom of different views, guaranteed by the Constitution, is fully respected. However, the Communist Party cannot give up its inspiring role, its efforts that art, too, should efficiently help form socialist man in the struggle for the transformation of the world. The Party will apply consistently its political programme, it will stimulate the development of Marxist thinking.

Socialist culture is one of the primary agents of the penetration of socialist and humanistic ideas in the world. It helps unite the humanistic streams of world culture. It has the capacity of bringing closer the socialist nations and of strengthening the cooperation and fraternal relations of nations and nationalities. Culture is a traditionally important value for our nations, by the means of which we have always proved our vitality and individuality to the world. But the interpretation of the national traditions of the culture of the Czechs and Slovaks was one-sided in many respects, whole important periods were artificially omitted from it. We give our full backing to the humanistic traditions of national cultures and we shall support all

efforts to endorse this heritage in the present psychology of Czechs and Slovaks.

We are supporters of both internationalism and national specificity of culture. We think it inevitable to take efficient measures without delay so that culture in Slovakia has the same conditions and possibilities as those in Bohemia, so that disproportions do not grow, but disappear. The equal position of national cultures also requires an equal position of national institutions. The competence of national bodies in Slovakia includes the management of the decisive instruments of national culture, such as radio, television, film, scientific institutes, artists' unions, book publishing, care for historical monuments, etc. It is necessary to secure the representation of Slovak national culture abroad; to increase the exchange of information and cultural values between the Czech and Slovak nations; to ensure the cultural life of the Slovaks in the Czech lands and of the Czechs in Slovakia in their native tongue.

Similar principles must be applied also towards the cultures of all the nationalities in Czechoslovakia, while realising that they are specific cultures and not Czech and Slovak culture translated into another language. The culture of nationalities is an organic part of Czechoslovak socialist culture, but it is also in context with the general culture of its own nation, with which it is inseparably linked. Material conditions and personnel problems of the further development of national cultures must be guaranteed institutionally, scientific and cultural institutions and offices must be established with a view to nationality needs. The decisive role and care for the material base of national cultures pertains to state bodies, National Committees, together with the cultural unions of the various nationalities.

We shall take care not only of cultural work, but also of the system of communication of cultural values, we

shall strive for the active participation of citizens in the development of socialist culture and in their cultural education, in the closest possible cooperation and complex influence of mass and local culture. We consider it urgent to examine the reasons of the catastrophic shortcomings of cultural and aesthetic education and to take measures to rectify them; - to create sufficient material, organisations and other conditions of cultural activity, to loosen the organisational forms; - to allow the establishment of various cultural and hobby groups as well as their regional and national associations; - to complete an efficient network of cultural establishments with an active participation of National Committees, enterprises, social and group-interest organisations; - to purposefully build up new important regional cultural centres in addition to the capitals.

The entire sphere of culture must be decently and responsibly secured economically in view of its importance, and protected from the uncontrolled nature of the market and from commercialism. We shall recommend, in the spirit of the 13th Congress resolution, that the government should complete without delay the planned solution of the entire complex of culture economy. The planned expenditure on culture must be stabilised and must increase progressively in harmony with the trend of the national income. We shall also support voluntary combination of the means of industrial and agricultural enterprises, national committees and social organisations for culture. The means invested in culture can become an important instrument of its development, if he, who uses them, becomes a modern socialist customer.

We regard the following problems as the most urgent ones, dependent upon new distribution of the means for culture on a national scale: to guarantee material care for the creators of important cultural values; - to eliminate discrepancies in the royalties, wages, incomes and taxes system in culture; - to cover the whole territory of the

Republic with a good-quality radio and television signal as soon as possible, to open the second television programme in 1970; - to overcome without delay the disastrous state of polygraphy; - to secure more polygraphic paper in desirable assortment for the press and publishing houses; - to improve care of historical objects of art and save handicraft among others things by making way for co-operative or private enterprise in this sphere.

The planned expenditure on culture must be concentrated in culture directing bodies which must distribute it cultural institutions. To increase the economic independence and responsibility of cultural establishments, enterprises and groups is a prerequisite of the functioning economy of culture. Independent control will lead towards a more rational exploitation of means and possibilities, towards increasing the spirit of enterprise.

#### The International Status and Foreign Policy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic

We shall be putting the Action Programme into practice during a complicated international situation and its further development will influence the realisation of certain important principles of the programme. On the other hand, the process of the revival of socialism in Czechoslovakia will make it possible for our Republic to influence its international development more actively. We stand resolutely on the side of progress, democracy and socialism in the struggle of the socialist and democratic forces against the aggressive attempts of world imperialism. It is from this point of view that we determine our attitude to the most acute international problems of the present, and our share in the world-wide struggle against the forces of imperialist reaction.

Proceeding from the real relationship of internatio-

nal forces and from the awareness that Czechoslovakia is an active component of the revolutionary process in the world, she will formulate her own attitude towards the fundamental problems of world policy.

The basic orientation of Czechoslovak foreign policy was born and verified at the time of the struggle for national liberation and in the process of the socialist reconstruction of this country - it is in alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. We shall strive for friendly relations with our allies - the countries of the world socialist community - to continue, on the basis of mutual respect, to intensify sovereignty and equality, and international solidarity. In this sense we shall contribute more actively and with a more elaborated concept to the joint activities of the Council of Mutual Economic Aid and the Warsaw Treaty.

In the relationship to the developing countries, socialist Czechoslovakia will be contributing to the strengthening of the anti-imperialist front and supporting within its power and possibilities all the nations opposing imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and striving for the strengthening of their sovereignty and national independence and for economic development. Therefore we shall continue supporting the courageous struggle of the Vietnamese people against American aggression. We shall also be enforcing a political settlement of the Middle East crisis.

We shall actively pursue the policy of peaceful co-existence towards advanced capitalist countries. Our geographical position, as well as the needs and capacities of an industrial country require that we should carry out a more active European policy aimed at the promotion of mutually advantageous relations with all states and international organisations and at safeguarding collective security of the European continent. We shall consistently proceed from

the existence of two German states, from the fact that the German Democratic Republic, as the first socialist state on German territory, is an important peace element in Europe, from the necessity of giving support to the realistic forces in the German Federal Republic, while resisting neo-nazi and revanchist tendencies in that country. The Czechoslovak people want to live in peace with all nations. They want to develop good relations and cooperate with all states in the interests of strengthening international peace and security as well as mutual confidence in the economic, cultural, scientific and technological fields. We shall also take more active advantage than we have done so far of our Republic's membership in international organisations, especially in the United Nations and its agencies.

Our science, culture and art can strengthen and increase much more the international authority of socialist Czechoslovakia in the world. Czechoslovak foreign policy must provide conditions and extend the scope for the international application of our culture abroad. A broad application of our science and art abroad helps to prove efficiently the advantages of socialism and the possibilities of an active policy of peaceful co-existence.

Our foreign policy did not make use of all the opportunities for active work, it did not take the initiative in advancing its own views on many important international problems. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the National Assembly, the Government and the respective ministry must overcome these shortcomings without delay and consistently ensure that our foreign policy should express fully both the national and international interests of socialist Czechoslovakia.

A full development of the international role of socialist Czechoslovakia is inseparable from the education of citizens in the spirit of internationalism, which com-

prises both the grasping of common interests and aims of the world progressive forces and understanding of specific national needs. This is linked with the necessity of making prompt and detailed information on international problems and the course of our foreign policy available to the public and thus creating conditions for an active participation of Czechoslovak citizens in the shaping of foreign political attitudes.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will be more active in the sphere of the international communist and workers' movement. We shall put special emphasis on friendly ties, mutual consultations and exchange of experiences with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with the communist and workers' parties of the socialist community, with all the other fraternal communist parties.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue taking an active part in the struggle for the unity of the international communist movement, for strengthening the action cooperation of communist parties with all the progressive forces while regarding a resolute struggle against the aggressive policy of American imperialism as the most important task. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will take full advantage of its specific possibilities of establishing contacts with the socialist, peaceful and democratic forces in the capitalist and developing countries. It will contribute to expanding the forms of cooperation and coordinating the work of communist parties, while attaching great importance to international party consultative meetings. From this point of view it welcomes and supports the outcomes of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest. With dozens of fraternal parties the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia supports the proposal for convening an international communist consultative meeting in Moscow late in 1968.



Comrades,

We are submitting to you quite frankly all the main ideas which guided us and which we want to adhere to at the present time. Everyone will understand that the proposals comprised in this Action Programme are far-reaching and their realisation will profoundly influence the life of this country. We are not changing our fundamental orientation; in the spirit of our traditions and former decisions we want to develop to the utmost in this country an advanced socialist society, rid of class antagonisms, economically, technologically and culturally highly advanced, socially and nationally just, democratically organized, with a qualified management, by the wealth of its resources giving the possibility of dignified human life, comradesly relations of mutual cooperation among people and free scope for the development of the human personality. We want to start building up a new intensely democratic model of a socialist society, which would fully correspond to Czechoslovak conditions. But our own experiences and Marxist scientific cognition lead us jointly to the conclusion that these aims cannot be achieved along the old paths while using means, which have long been obsolete and harsh methods, which are always dragging us back. We declare with full responsibility that our society has entered a difficult period when we can no longer rely on traditional schemes. We cannot squeeze life into patterns, no matter how well-intended. It is now also up to us to make our way through unknown conditions, to experiment, to give the socialist development a new look, while leaning upon creative Marxist thinking and the experiences of the international workers movement, relying on the true understanding of the conditions of the socialist development of Czechoslovakia as a country which assumes responsibility to the international communist movement for improving and taking advantage of the relatively advanced material base, unusually high standards of education and culture of the people and undeniable democratic traditions to the benefit of socialism and communism. No

which will naturally arise, will be solved by discussion and democratic decisions. Independent decisions of cultural workers in the spheres of their activity must also be an expression of the necessary autonomy of culture and art. They must be indispensable partners for state bodies. We are convinced that communist intellectuals and all other leading workers in the sphere of culture and art are capable of cooperating in the formation of, and carrying out responsibly and independently, the policy of the Party in state, social, cultural and group-interest institutions, that they are a guarantee of the socialist, humanistic orientation of our culture.

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The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will continue taking an active part in the struggle for the unity of the international communist movement, for strengthening the action cooperation of communist parties with all the progressive forces while regarding a resolute struggle against the aggressive policy of American imperialism as the most important task. The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia will take full advantage of its specific possibilities of establishing contacts with the socialist, peaceful and democratic forces in the capitalist and developing countries. It will contribute to expanding the forms of cooperation and coordinating the work of communist parties, while attaching great importance to international party consultative meetings. From this point of view it welcomes and supports the outcomes of the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Budapest. With dozens of fraternal parties the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia supports the proposal for convening an international communist consultative meeting in Moscow late in 1968.

Comrades,

We are submitting to you quite frankly all the main ideas which guided us and which we want to adhere to at the present time. Everyone will understand that the proposals comprised in this Action Programme are far-reaching and their realisation will profoundly influence the life of this country. We are not changing our fundamental orientation; in the spirit of our traditions and former decisions we want to develop to the utmost in this country an advanced socialist society, rid of class antagonisms, economically, technologically and culturally highly advanced, socially and nationally just, democratically organized, with a qualified management, by the wealth of its resources giving the possibility of dignified human life, comradesly relations of mutual cooperation among people and free scope for the development of the human personality. We want to start building up a new intensely democratic model of a socialist society, which would fully correspond to Czechoslovak conditions. But our own experiences and Marxist scientific cognition lead us jointly to the conclusion that these aims cannot be achieved along the old paths while using means, which have long been obsolete and harsh methods, which are always dragging us back. We declare with full responsibility that our society has entered a difficult period when we can no longer rely on traditional schemes. We cannot squeeze life into patterns, no matter how well-intended. It is now also up to us to make our way through unknown conditions, to experiment, to give the socialist development a new look, while leaning upon creative Marxist thinking and the experiences of the international workers movement, relying on the true understanding of the conditions of the socialist development of Czechoslovakia as a country which assumes responsibility to the international communist movement for improving and taking advantage of the relatively advanced material base, unusually high standards of education and culture of the people and undeniable democratic traditions to the benefit of socialism and communism. No

one could forgive us were we to waste this chance, were we to give up our opportunities.

We are not taking the outlined measures to make any concessions from our ideals - let alone to our opponents.

On the contrary: we are convinced that they will help us to get rid of the burden which for years provided many advantages for the opponent by restricting, reducing and paralyzing the efficiency of the socialist idea, the attractiveness of the socialist example. We want to set new penetrating forces of socialist life in motion in this country to give them the possibility of a much more efficient confrontation of the social systems and world outlooks and allowing a fuller application of the advantages of socialism.

Our Action Programme comprises tasks, intentions and aims for the immediate future, up to the 14th Party Congress. We are aware that many of the shortcomings and difficulties which have accumulated over recent years cannot be fully overcome in a short time. However, the fulfilment of this programme can open up the way to solving other, more complicated and important problems of the organisation and dynamic development of our socialist society in directions which could be only indicated until now; in the coming years, we want to start working out a long-term programme, which would give form and elaborate in detail the concept of the over-all development of our socialist society in the stage we are entering, make clear the conditions and open up prospects of its communist future. After everything we have lived through over the past years we are obliged to give a reply to all our workers and ourselves as to how the Party imagines its aims can be achieved, how it wants to materialise the expectations and desires which are being invested by workers in their life and in their participation in the communist movement. We believe that our Marxist science has gathered and will gather now and in future such an amount of strength as to enable it to prepare responsibly scientific preconditions for such programme.

We are not concealing the fact that difficult moments and extraordinarily exacting and responsible work face us in the coming months and years. For the fulfilment of the forthcoming progressive tasks it will be necessary to unite as many citizens of our Republic as possible, all who are concerned with the welfare of this country, with its peace efforts, with a flourishing socialism. Confidence, mutual understanding and harmonious work of all who really want to devote their energy to this great human experiment will be needed. But the work and initiative of every communist, every worker will be needed above all. We want to responsibly, consistently and without reservations make room for this, remove all the barriers which stood in its way, set the creative capacities of our man, all the physical and moral capacities of society in motion. We want to create conditions so that every honest citizen, who concerns himself with the cause of socialism, the cause of our nations, should feel that he is the very designer of the fate of this country, that he is the very designer of the fate of this country, his homeland, that he is needed, that he is reckoned with. Therefore let the Action Programme become a programme of the revival of socialist efforts in this country. There is no force which could resist the people who know what they want and how to pursue their aim.

The Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

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